

Discourse and Traditional Belief:
An Analysis of
American Undergraduate Study Abroad

Joan Elias Gore

**Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the regulations
of the University of London for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Culture, Communication & Societies
and Policy Studies
Institute of Education
University of London**

2000



Chapter Four.

Alternative Discourses: The Voices of Sponsors and Participants.....	216
--	-----

Part One. Sponsor Discourse and Practice: Beliefs about the Academic Quality of Study Abroad	218
--	-----

Part Two. Sponsor Discourse and Practice: Beliefs about the Functional Worth of Study Abroad	249
--	-----

Part Three. Participant Discourse and Practice: Risk and Hardship	277
---	-----

Part Four. Participant Discourse and Practice: The Articulation of Academic Motives For Studying Abroad .	295
---	-----

Part Five. Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief: Professional Training and the Liberal Curriculum	310
--	-----

Conclusion.....	351
-----------------	-----

Chapter Five.

Policy Discourse.....	382
-----------------------	-----

Part One. The Analytical Framework	385
--	-----

Part Two. The Contributions of Traditional Belief to Policy Failure	390
---	-----

Part Three. New Discourse and Policy	404
--	-----

Conclusion.....	432
-----------------	-----

Bibliography.....	446
--------------------------	------------

Appendix A. Supplementary Tables, Chapters 3 to 5

Appendix B. Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, 1995:
Questionnaire

Appendix C. Sketch of Foreign Study Plan, Scope and
General Statement

Table of Contents

Abstract	5
Acknowledgements	7
List of Tables	8
 Chapter One.	
The Marginal Role of Undergraduate Study Abroad in U.S. Higher Education.....	12
Part One. The Status of Study Abroad within United States Higher Education	13
Part Two. Policy Discourse	18
Conclusion.....	28
 Chapter Two.	
A Conceptual Framework for an Analysis of Discourse and Belief about Study Abroad.....	40
Part One. The Power of Discourse	41
Part Two. Sources of Discourse: Disciplinary Groups and Social Institutions	49
Part Three. The Methods of Inquiry: Archaeology and Genealogy	53
Part Four. Transformation	58
Conclusion.....	62
 Chapter Three.	
Normalised Discourse and Traditional Beliefs about U.S. Undergraduate Study Abroad.....	78
Conclusion.....	184

Chapter Four.

Alternative Discourses: The Voices of Sponsors and Participants.....	216
--	-----

Part One. Sponsor Discourse and Practice: Beliefs about the Academic Quality of Study Abroad	218
--	-----

Part Two. Sponsor Discourse and Practice: Beliefs about the Functional Worth of Study Abroad	249
--	-----

Part Three. Participant Discourse and Practice: Risk and Hardship	277
---	-----

Part Four. Participant Discourse and Practice: The Articulation of Academic Motives For Studying Abroad .	295
---	-----

Part Five. Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief: Professional Training and the Liberal Curriculum	310
--	-----

Conclusion.....	351
-----------------	-----

Chapter Five.

Policy Discourse.....	382
-----------------------	-----

Part One. The Analytical Framework	385
--	-----

Part Two. The Contributions of Traditional Belief to Policy Failure	390
---	-----

Part Three. New Discourse and Policy	404
--	-----

Conclusion.....	432
-----------------	-----

Bibliography.....	446
--------------------------	------------

Appendix A. Supplementary Tables, Chapters 3 to 5

Appendix B. Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, 1995:
Questionnaire

Appendix C. Sketch of Foreign Study Plan, Scope and
General Statement

- Appendix D.** Educating for Global Competence: The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange
- Appendix E.** A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task. Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad
- Appendix F.** University of Delaware Foreign Study Groups, 1923 and 1933

Abstract

Discourse and Traditional Belief:

An Analysis of American Undergraduate Study Abroad

Despite the goal of increased globalisation, the proportion of American college undergraduates studying abroad remains at just over one percent. This thesis investigates traditional beliefs which have affected perceptions of study abroad and which have constrained policy development in American higher education.

Chapter One outlines a statistical portrait of study abroad, identifying its participants as undergraduate females and showing how study abroad is a marginal activity. The institutional changes proposed within the last two decades to increase study abroad use are discussed, and it is shown how elements of discourse within the higher education community have devalued the purposes of studying abroad, the programmes, and participants.

Chapter Two establishes the conceptual framework for this inquiry. Michel Foucault's theory of discourse, belief, and power is outlined as a guide for an analysis

of how beliefs about study abroad evolve, wield power over individuals and institutions, and are subject to change and the reallocation of power.

Using Foucault's theory that emerging strands of discourse produce persistent beliefs, Chapter Three identifies prevailing traditional beliefs about study abroad and the historical and contemporary discourses which produced and now sustain them. The influence of gender on these beliefs is demonstrated.

Chapter Four examines the alternative discourses of sponsors and participants in study abroad. These discourses could contribute to a redefinition of the situation.

Chapter Five offers reflections on current policy directions and some suggestions about new possibilities.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Robert Cowen and Professor Tony Green for their intellectual guidance, enthusiasm, encouragement, and patience.

Tony Green provided me with an ongoing sense that this project was worthwhile. Robert Cowen persisted in supporting and guiding me through the many revisions that have resulted in the completion of this thesis. The entire staff of the Culture, Communication, and Societies Academic Group has been supportive throughout my period with the Institute.

Equally supportive and patient have been my family. My husband, Dr. Luther Gore, has been willing to listen often and has provided insightful commentary. My daughter, Hattie, has been willing to share me with the academic world.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends, who have also listened and who have made suggestions based on their areas of expertise. Most especially, my friend, Dr. Susan Hitchcock, of the Core Knowledge Foundation in the United States, has extended her time and intellect to help me in this project.

As a U.S. citizen, this has been *my* study abroad experience. It has been my extraordinary privilege to work with the faculty, staff, and students of the Institute of Education of the University of London. This has been an experience for which I will always be grateful.

List of Tables

Tables, Chapter Three

- 3.1 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 18: Identify the Primary Reason for Women Participating in Study Abroad
- 3.2 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 10: Why More Women than Men?
- 3.9 Gender Enrollments by Percentage in Representative U.S. Study Abroad, 1923-97
- 3.12 Darden Survey: Concerns of Students Studying Abroad
- 3.13 Darden Survey: Reasons for Not Going Abroad

Tables, Chapter Four

- 4.4 Sweet Briar Survey, Question 19: Were any of the following factors important in helping you to decide to go abroad?
- 4.7 Summary: Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Faculty And Administrators who Sponsor Study Abroad Programmes: Academic Quality And Goals
- 4.8 Summary: Alternative Beliefs and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of the Faculty and Administrators who Sponsor Study Abroad Programmes: Professional Purpose
- 4.9 CIEE Study Abroad Programmes in France, 1973-90: Participation by Gender
- 4.10 CIEE Study Abroad Programmes in Spain (Undergraduate Only, 1973-84): Participation by Gender
- 4.11 Summary: Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Participants in Study Abroad Programmes: Risk and Worth of Pursuing Study Abroad

- 4.13 Summary: Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Participants in Study Abroad Programmes: Academic Quality And Goals
- 4.14 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 1: Intentions for Graduate Study, Professional Study, or a Career
- 4.15 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 2: Study Abroad as Preparation for Graduate or Professional Study or a Career
- 4.16 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Questions 3 and 5: Change in or Direct Connection to Graduate Study, Professional Study, or Career Goals
- 4.17 Summary: Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Participants in Study Abroad Programmes: Professional Purpose

Tables, Appendix A

- 3.3 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 13: Reasons for Study Abroad
- 3.4 Darden Survey, Reasons for Study Abroad
- 3.5 CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 13: Areas of Interest for Programme Development
- 3.6 University of Delaware Foreign Study Plan, Paris Programme Gender Analysis, 1923-24 to 1939-40
- 3.7 Summary of Junior Year in France Groups, 1948-49 to 1992-93
- 3.8 CIEE Programmes: Enrollment and Gender History
- 3.10 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 20: Did you encounter beliefs which impeded your study abroad pursuits?
- 3.11 CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 27: Student Factors When Considering Study Abroad
- 3.14 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 11: Socioeconomic Status at Time of Study

- 3.15 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 12: How did you finance your study abroad experience?
- 3.16 Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Funds, 1948-49 to 1971-72
- 3.17 CIEE Baseline Survey: Financial Aid Use
- 3.18 Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Financial Aid, 1992-96
- 3.19 International 50 Membership
- 3.20 Participation in Study Abroad Programmes, comparing International 50 Institutions and Research Universities
- 3.21 Tuition, Fees, Room, and Board at International 50 Colleges, 1997
- 3.22 University of Delaware Programme Feeder Institutions, 1923-39
- 3.23 Council on International Education Exchange, Top Ten Feeder Schools, 1995-96 to 1996-97
- 3.24 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 15: Student Majors Prior to Study Abroad
- 3.25 CIEE Enrollments in Diversified Programmes, 1989-93
- 3.26 CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 1: Institutional Commitment
- 3.27 CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 17: Do you charge an administrative fee?
- 3.28 CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 17: Administrative Changes
- 3.29 CIEE Enrollments by Country, Language, and Programme Span, 1973-92
- 4.1. CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 31: Rate the Factors Determining Student Eligibility for Study Abroad
- 4.2 CIEE Examination of Programme Requirements

- 4.3 GPA Requirements for Admission to Leading Study
Abroad Supplier Institutions
- 4.5 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 23: How did you
hear about the Sweet Briar programme?
- 4.6 Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 24: Who/what
influenced you to attend this programme?
- 4.12 University of Delaware Committee on Foreign Study
Alumni Survey: Alumnae Occupations and Professional
Affiliations
- 4.18 CIEE Programmes: Race, Ethnic, and Gender Enrollment
Analyses, 1991-94
- 5.1 Constituent Societies of the American Council of
Learned Societies

Chapter One

The Marginal Role of Undergraduate Study Abroad in U.S. Higher Education

This thesis is an analysis of how 'study abroad' is evaluated and supported in the United States higher education community. There have been multiple calls within the international education community for increased support for study abroad to educate effectively for the twenty-first century. Study abroad enrollments have grown slowly, however; policy goals have not been reached; and study abroad remains at the margins of American post-secondary education. Many in the American academy are suspicious of study abroad, questioning its academic quality and purpose.

To understand this suspicion, this thesis adapts Michel Foucault's theory of the power of discourse to analyse 'traditional beliefs'¹ that coalesce to form an 'episteme'² about study abroad. It investigates how this episteme can explain the slow growth in participation and the relative failure of policy, despite the existence of 'alternative discourses'³ about the value of study abroad, articulated by faculty and students who support it. Finally, this thesis explores the implications of this episteme and its alternative discourses for policy.

The issues examined in this thesis grow out of the insignificant status of study abroad activity in the United States and the goals of policy makers for its future, to which Chapter One now turns.

Part One. The Status of Study Abroad within United States Higher Education

Despite efforts to 'globalise the curriculum' and enter an era of 'multiculturalism,' study abroad programmes in the United States are under-enrolled. Educators hear warnings that "the level of international knowledge and understanding in our country is wanting in comparison with others."⁴ In an end-of-century report funded by the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and shared with the United States Information Agency, Dr. Alice Chandler, President Emerita of the State University of New York at New Paltz, stated that "American college graduates are all too likely to enter a global society without knowledge of a single foreign language or culture and without the general knowledge that prepares them for global citizenship. They are far less prepared than young people from other countries to compete for global commerce or market share."⁵ Early in the year 2000, U.S. Secretary of Education, Richard W. Riley, gave a speech called "The Growing Importance of

International Education," calling for increased emphasis on international exchange, including study abroad, to meet the needs of globalisation.⁶

Who Goes Abroad

Although such concerns are frequently expressed, foreign study programmes attract a tiny proportion of American college students. The Institute of International Education reported that in 1995-96 (the most recent academic year for which accurate comparative data about U.S. higher education enrollments are available⁷), the number of American students going abroad had risen in the previous year but still represented only slightly over one percent of all U.S. college students.⁸

International education leaders have indicated they would like to increase that number: "By the year 2000 ten percent of American college and university students should have a significant educational experience abroad during their undergraduate years."⁹ A further goal, established for 2008, is to reach twenty to twenty five percent.¹⁰ Still, little more than one in one hundred American students can be confirmed to study abroad by this year -- the year 2000.¹¹ Allan E. Goodman, President of the Institute of International Education, although reporting a slow upward trend, told the *Chronicle of*

Higher Education in late 1999 that "much more needs to be done."¹² Elsewhere, Goodman warned that despite policy aims, "American educational institutions are themselves finding it increasingly difficult to fund . . . Americans seeking to study abroad."¹³

Foreign nations send far more students to the United States than U.S. higher education sends abroad, and support for international education programs appears to be declining. At mid-decade, 453,787 foreign students came to the United States, representing 3.1 percent of this nation's total higher education enrollment.¹⁴ According to the Institute of International Education, a majority were graduate students, many enrolled in professional programmes.¹⁵ In 1995-96, foreign students accounted for 10.1 percent of all graduate students in the U.S., including 33 percent of all doctoral degree recipients.¹⁶

In contrast, mid-decade figures showed that 89,242 American students studied abroad.¹⁷ More than 92 percent of these students were undergraduates,¹⁸ representing only 1.2 percent of the total U.S. undergraduate population at American four-year institutions and only 0.62 percent of the total U.S. undergraduate population, if two-year institutions are included.¹⁹ In other words, foreign students studying in American colleges and universities

outnumber American students overseas by about five to one.

The population of U.S. students studying abroad does not mirror the population of students coming to the United States. From the 1950s to the present time, three-quarters of the international students coming to the U.S. have been male graduate students,²⁰ many enrolling in science and technology courses. Two-thirds of U.S. college students going abroad are undergraduate women, the majority of them studying languages and the liberal arts.²¹

An analysis of the forces which have shaped these patterns of U.S. study abroad participation is at the centre of this inquiry, which begins with a definition of study abroad in the American context.

The Scope and Definition of U.S. Study Abroad

U.S. international education literature rarely defines 'study abroad.' It is possible, however, to extrapolate a definition from the practices of organisations sponsoring study abroad for American students.

The Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation, a world leader in operating undergraduate study abroad

programmes, open to every eligible student in the United States and well known throughout the U.S. academic community. In its literature, Council states its programmes "provide credit-bearing semester, academic year, summer, and January-term study abroad programs in a variety of disciplines."²²

A similar pattern dominates the offerings publicised by the Institute of International Education (IIE), a non-profit organisation with over 650 college and university members in the U.S. and abroad -- the largest agency in the U.S.²³ In its guidebook to study abroad for U.S. undergraduates, IIE states that "Many programs offer academic credit that may be used in partial fulfillment of requirements for an academic degree. It is usually not possible to complete all course requirements for an academic degree in the period of time covered by [these] programs . . . nor is that their purpose."²⁴

These two documents show that in the American academic tradition, undergraduate study abroad involves domicile in a foreign country, rarely exceeding a year and always for a shorter term of enrollment than that in the home institution. It results in completion of a portion of the accredited coursework required by the U.S. home institution for the baccalaureate degree.

The term 'junior year abroad' has been frequently

used in the United States to describe the sojourn abroad, though students today rarely stay a full academic year. Until the 1960s, the "dominant pattern was to study overseas during one's entire junior year . . . Over the past two decades, the pronounced trend has been away from year-long programs and toward programs of a semester or less with much course work taken outside major fields."²⁵ While the duration of stay has declined substantially, the 'junior year abroad' label remains, even for shorter-term programmes. Most students enroll for a programme during the third (sometimes fourth) of their four undergraduate years.²⁶

Changes in programme duration have not resulted in significantly increased participation in study abroad activities. With only one percent of the U.S. college population studying overseas, study abroad continues to function at the periphery of American higher education, a role defined as problematic by some educational leaders and a role study abroad policy formulation is designed to remedy.

Part Two. Policy Discourse

For close to a half-century, this marginal role of study abroad has been recognised within the international education community, in calls to increase programme

enrollments and build respect for the contribution study abroad can make toward American educational goals.²⁷

Contemporary policy discourse began with a conference report by Dr. Stephen Freeman, Vice President of Middlebury College, who summarised the goals of the National Conference on Study Abroad Programs, held in Chicago in October 1960.²⁸ Freeman's report encouraged a strong nationwide commitment to academic quality in the development of study abroad.²⁹ In the 1970s, policy goals grew to include professional training and the development of high-quality on-campus academic advising services supporting study abroad.³⁰ By the late 1970s, under President Jimmy Carter, policy statements described a climate of "economic vulnerability," the "inability of U.S. corporations to be competitive" in the international marketplace, and "American ignorance of the world, leading to deteriorating manpower and management capacity."³¹ The suggestion was that study abroad might address these educational shortcomings. By the late 1980s, the theme of internationalising the curriculum for the national good was a recurrent message in many reports and publications from government agencies and educational organisations.³²

'Globalisation' became the watchword of the 1990s, among educators and business people. *Exchange 2000:*

*International Leadership for the Next Century*³³ stated that educational exchange offered a means for exerting international leadership and was "a proven and remarkably inexpensive policy instrument."³⁴ In 1990 Barbara Burn published *The Contribution of International Exchange to the International Education of Americans: Projections for the Year 2000*,³⁵ calling for extensive encouragement for American students to participate in study abroad. Student participation should broaden, she argued, in gender and ethnic terms and in the range of disciplinary fields pursued abroad; programme growth should be targeted by funding agencies. In 1995 the American Council on Education published *Educating Americans for a World in Flux: Ten Ground Rules for Internationalizing Higher Education*,³⁶ which recommended expanding study abroad opportunities.

The past two decades have seen more than a dozen nationally published reports, all addressing the status, significance, and future of U.S. study abroad. These reports reflect a growing interest in international education in the United States and suggest that academics foresee an expansion of study abroad beyond traditional boundaries.³⁷ The reports often call for internationalisation of several aspects of higher education, addressing issues such as faculty and research

exchange, inbound student populations, and curricular globalisation.

In this thesis, the term policy maker is used to refer to authors of one or more of these reports. Reports identified as policy statements in this thesis are publications analysing the status of international education generally, or study abroad specifically, with the goal of making recommendations about its future development. These reports were commissioned by either federal or state governmental agencies and/or by higher education or international education agencies with membership from across the entire American higher education community.³⁸

All these reports address, either directly or indirectly, the role and value of undergraduate study abroad as part of the overall effort to internationalise U.S. higher education. They call for increasing the number of students who participate in study abroad; they urge greater diversity in gender, race, and ethnicity among the student body; they encourage a broader range of topics to be studied overseas; and they urge that programme sponsors develop more diverse locations where students may go to study. These reports represent a wealth of material reflecting discourse on the subject of U.S. study abroad.

Two of these studies, in particular, reflect and summarise the many calls for change in U.S. undergraduate study abroad: *Educating for Global Competence*³⁹ and *A National Mandate for Education Abroad*.⁴⁰ Sponsored by organisations whose memberships cover the higher education community -- international education exchange professionals, faculty, and institutional leaders -- as well as corporate and governmental agencies involved directly in policy planning, these two studies are central documents in the study of discourse about present and future policy in U.S. study abroad.

Educating for Global Competence: The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange was published in 1988 by the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE).⁴¹ The CIEE membership represents educational leaders and policy makers in international education. Hence any report generated by CIEE is both reflective and formative, representing the predominant beliefs of leaders in U.S. study abroad programming and wielding influence in the academic community.

The primary calls for development in the 1988 CIEE-sponsored report were predicated on the need, so the report said, to "counter the serious flaws in the

preparation of American education for an interdependent world."⁴² The report recommended:

1. The number of college students who study abroad should be increased to at least 10 percent of enrollment by 1995, with a schedule set for a further increase into the next century.

2. Special efforts should be made to identify and encourage both students from under-represented academic and social groups and students with potential leadership ability, to incorporate study abroad in their academic programs, and to do so in a greater range of subject areas.

3. Study abroad in developing countries and those outside the traditional Anglo-European settings should be a matter of high priority, with special attention to creating educational exchange programs in the Western Pacific Rim, as well as in the rest of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe.

4. Responsibility for implementing increased internationalization should be vested at the highest institutional level.⁴³

Similar objectives were expressed in *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task*, the 1990 report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad, published by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (now called NAFSA: Association of International Educators). NAFSA draws members from every U.S. state and sixty nations, primarily administrators and supporters of foreign study

programmes.⁴⁴ Thus the NAFSA membership also represents leaders and policy makers within the field of study abroad, and a NAFSA report both reflects and forms opinion in the field.

The 1990 *National Mandate* proposed five major recommendations, designed to "greatly enhance the contribution of overseas study abroad programs to the internationalization of the higher education experience of undergraduates."⁴⁵ The report summarised its recommendations:

Expansion of Education Abroad. By the year 2000, ten percent of American college and university students should have a significant educational experience abroad during their undergraduate years. Achieving this will require substantial growth in the number and type of opportunities provided and a more pervasive integration of education abroad into institutional strategies aimed at strengthening the international dimension in U.S. higher education.

Increased Diversity. As number and opportunities are expanded we urge that greater diversity be a major goal for all aspects of education abroad: greater diversity in participating students, in foreign locations, and in types of programs.

Curricular Connections. The study abroad experience must be integrated into regular degree programs in many different fields including professional schools. In some fields, study abroad should become a requirement, for example, for future foreign language teachers in elementary and secondary schools.

Major Inhibitors. A variety of factors inhibit expansion of numbers and diversity in undergraduate education abroad. Some are historical; others are tied to negative perceptions. We urge that all be vigorously addressed. They include:

- Insufficient institutional commitment to international education.
- Negative views of some faculty members.
- Restrictive curricular requirements.
- Foreign language deficiencies.
- Inadequate study abroad support services on campuses and abroad.
- Inadequate information about education abroad opportunities and their relative quality.
- Financial regulations and shortfalls.

Financial Options. While lack of money is not always the main obstacle to program development or student participation, expanded funding from both private and public sources will be essential if the academic community is to diversify the types of institutions, students, and experiences involved in study abroad in the years ahead.⁴⁶

A review of the strategic reports published over these years shows that there are several governing ideas about U.S. study abroad. The documents consistently call for increased numbers of students going abroad; increased diversity of students and locations; increased numbers of professionally focused programmes; increased academic rigour; and increased financial aid. The reports echo one another not only in their recommendations but also in their analyses of the problems to be solved and the

circumstances that created those problems. They manifest common attitudes and assumptions about study abroad.

All the reports begin with the opinion that far too few American students make use of study abroad options. They then all proceed to suggest that in order to increase participation:

- Programmes should make an effort to attract a participant group more diverse in gender, race, and socioeconomic background, thus indicating study abroad must be shaped so as to attract other than wealthy white women.
- High academic standards must guide future developments, implying that some believe this has not been the case in the past.
- Programme development should move away from the liberal arts curriculum, instead organising new programmes in the sciences and professions, suggesting that professional preparation has not been significant to study abroad sponsors or participants in the past.
- Access to financial aid should be increased as a strategy for diversifying the body of students going overseas, reflecting an attitude that study

abroad has often been an elitist activity for the wealthy.

- New programmes should be established in locations beyond the traditional European settings, sometimes raising questions about motives for housing programmes in Western Europe.

These reports reflect recognition that many outside the international education community are suspicious about the quality and worth of study abroad. An underlying assumption drives many of these recommendations: expanding the fields of study available abroad, broadening the purpose for study abroad to include professional training, and increasing financial support might not only increase overall participation but might also balance the gender representation of participants -- in short, might attract more male students into study abroad.

This brief review of policy discourse suggests that a set of clichés may animate conceptions about study abroad as it has been practised to the present. An analysis of discourse about study abroad in the American academy can illuminate how this form of education is perceived and valued. Should these clichés reflect more deeply held beliefs about overseas education, this

analysis could further understanding about why policy goals have not met with support from the faculty and students who are being encouraged to consider study abroad.

Conclusion

Policy discourse suggests that study abroad programmes are:

- perceived as attracting wealthy women to academically weak European programmes,
- defined by the liberal arts, and
- questioned for their lack of serious preparation for work and the professions.

This thesis proposes to investigate these perceptions, to evaluate whether or not this discourse reflects beliefs by American faculty and students that devalue foreign education and contribute to its marginalisation.

Michel Foucault's theory of the power of discourse to generate beliefs, composing an 'episteme'⁴⁷ that controls perceptions about events, institutions, and individuals, offers a methodology with which to analyse the discourse of the academy, to evaluate if these clichés represent a set of beliefs which carry with them

the power to endow or withdraw validation of study abroad.

Foucault's theory is explored in Chapter Two of this thesis. Foucault wants to know how beliefs are formed, whom they normalise, and whom they exclude. Foucault describes discourse in educational settings, where validated discourses are empowered and invalidated discourses are disenfranchised.⁴⁸

For Foucault, the purpose of inquiry is to expose the foundations of power endowed through discourse, a process he labels 'archaeology.'⁴⁹ His methodology permits the exploration of discourses that evaluate an event in a way that is different from the discourse of the group holding the dominating belief. The process facilitates the investigation of the discourse of groups disenfranchised by prevailing belief. It seeks to describe an alternative vision. Foucault labels this exploration 'genealogy.'⁵⁰ His goal is to introduce, through changes in discourse, the possibility for transformation of beliefs.⁵¹

It is the purpose of this thesis to conduct such an inquiry into the discourse surrounding study abroad in American higher education. Each subsequent chapter of this thesis adapts Foucault's theory to a discourse analysis of study abroad and its marginalisation.

In the process of the research for this thesis, it became possible to seek further illumination of the discourse about study abroad through fieldwork,⁵² which provided additional illustrations of the communication and practices to which to apply Foucault's concepts. Since this fieldwork is not the central source of evidence in the thesis, their descriptions appear in the endnotes at the first introduction into the thesis of each field project. This unusual placement of fieldwork description is done here to prevent disruption of the coherence of the Foucaultian analysis by subsidiary field study descriptions. For the same reason, descriptions of programmes or data collections which are representative of national study abroad activity are placed in the endnotes as well.

Utilising Foucault's perspective as the framework for this research, Chapter Three adapts the concept of 'archaeology' to test the possibility that clichés demeaning foreign education represent the existence of traditional beliefs about study abroad in the U.S. academic community. The work of this chapter is to contextualise the development of this set of conceptions in order to understand their normative power. It is suggested that traditional beliefs describing study abroad in the United States 'systematise'⁵³ to produce an

episteme about study abroad as academically weak and lacking functional worth, particularly with regard to professional preparation.

Having investigated the possibility of a dominant devaluing discourse, Chapter Four turns to alternative definitions about study abroad, adapting Foucault's idea of 'genealogy' to an inquiry into the alternative beliefs voiced by the faculty, administrators, and students, in the majority female, who have supported study abroad from its origins after World War I to the present day. This chapter explores an alternative set of beliefs constituting study abroad as an academically challenging activity to be pursued for purposes of professional development.

Framed by the findings of this thesis, Chapter Five adapts Foucault's concept of transformation to conclude this thesis with an evaluation of the formation and dissemination of policy discourses.

To proceed with this inquiry, the framework and guidance offered by Michel Foucault should be reviewed, which is the task of Chapter Two.

Endnotes, Chapter One

1. Michel Foucault describes statements in discourse, which form to produce a dominating vision about a particular activity or event. See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 117. These statements are called 'traditional beliefs' in this thesis. Chapter Two will describe Foucault's theory and how it is adapted for this study.
2. Foucault describes beliefs, generated through discursive practices, which form into a dominating vision, or 'episteme,' that defines for a community what is accepted as worthwhile and what is marginalised as worthless. See Foucault, *Archaeology*, 121, 125, 138.
3. 'Discourse' includes communication and the social practices that are produced and sustained by it. See Foucault, *Archaeology*, 202-206. Alternative discourses are those obscured by the power of the episteme. For example, see Foucault, *Archaeology*, 216.
4. *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task, Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad* (Washington: NAFSA: Association for International Educators, May 1990), 1.
5. Alice Chandler, *Paying the Bill for International Education: Programs, Partners, and Possibilities at the Millennium* (NAFSA Newsletter, May/June 1999, 21), a report funded by the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and discussed by Dr. Chandler with representatives of the United States Information Agency (USIA).
6. Richard W. Riley, "The Growing Importance of International Education," speech presented at La Maison Francaise, Washington, D.C., 19 April 2000, reported at URL <http://www.ed.gov/Speeches/04-2000/00419.html>
7. National Center for Educational Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1998* (Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 2000); Paul Desruisseaux, "15% Rise in American Students Abroad Shows Popularity of Non-European Destinations," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 December 1999, A60. Desruisseaux's article confirms that, despite excitement about increasing enrollments, there is no accurate data yet available to confirm that study abroad enrollments have substantially increased as a percentage of U.S. higher education enrollments. This article notes the availability of data to use for comparison only through 1995-96. This thesis will utilise data describing foreign student enrollments and U.S. study abroad enrollments reported for the year 1995-96 because this is the most recent year for which the National Center for Educational Statistics has compiled complete U.S. enrollment data. Therefore, this is the most recent year for which accurate information about the percentages of foreign and U.S. students participating in study abroad activities can be evaluated as well. Data from this year are used elsewhere in this thesis, whenever an analysis of study abroad activities compared to United States education activities is required.

-
8. Todd Davis, ed., *Open Doors 1996/97: Report On International Educational Exchange* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1997), 2, 135. This issue of *Open Doors* reports the data describing U.S. study abroad participating for the year 1995-96. Foreign student data for 1995-96 are reported in Todd Davis, ed., *Open Doors 1995/96: Report on International Exchange* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1996).
 9. *A National Mandate*, 4.
 10. Gary Rhodes, "Exploring the Framework for Entrepreneurial Growth in Study Abroad," in Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 156.
 11. Calculated based on data in Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 136, 2. Secretary Riley, in his speech on 19 April 2000, reported that 114,000 students studied abroad in the previous year. Using this figure as a percentage of the last confirmed enrollment figures in U.S. higher education institutions (National Center for Educational Statistics, see endnote 7), it still represents only 1.7% of the total enrollment in four-year institutions (6,636,443 students). Ibid.
 12. Desruisseaux, "15% Rise"; National Center for Educational Statistics, *Digest*, 1998.
 13. Allan Goodman, "Opening Doors and Opening Minds: Why Both Are Needed for the 21st Century," speech at USIA/ETS Conference on International Education, September 1998 (*NAFSA Newsletter*, January/February 1999, 27).
 14. Davis, *Open Doors 1995/96*, vii.
 15. Ibid., v-vi, 102-103, 113-116.
 16. Ibid., 1.
 17. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 136.
 18. Ibid., 153.
 19. Calculated based on data in Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 2.
 20. Davis, *Open Doors 1995/96*, 105, 115-116.
 21. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 135, 145, 146, 153.
 22. Council on International Educational Exchange, *Annual Report 94-95* (New York: CIEE, 1995).
 23. Sara J. Steen, ed., *Academic Year Abroad 1997-98* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1996), vii.
 24. Sara J. Steen, ed., *Academic Year Abroad 1992-93* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1993), viii.
 25. Beatrice Beach Szekely and Maria Krane, "The Current Demographics of Education Abroad," in William Hoffa, John Pearson, and Marvin Slind, *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and*

Administrators, 2nd ed. (Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1997), 150.

26. In most cases, students enroll in programmes designed in concert between U.S. institutions or agencies and the host institutions, resulting in a combination of learning experiences, some indigenous and some designed for visitors. Some American students enroll in 'island' programmes run solely by an American sponsoring institution without any cooperative arrangement with a foreign institution. Finally, some U.S. students elect courses at foreign institutions, in which case U.S. institutions scrutinise them carefully to assure that they fulfill U.S. academic expectations. Whether pursued for one week, one month, or one full academic year, foreign study is expected to dovetail smoothly with the programme of study at home. Supporting faculty oversee the choices made, so they can assure the student returning to the United States full academic credit toward the baccalaureate degree (Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 135, 145; Szekely and Krane, "The Current Demographics," 150-159).

27. The issues raised in this thesis first came to my attention during the years I taught at the University of Virginia, from 1972 to 1987, where I established and administered a Study Abroad Office and advising system. In counseling University of Virginia undergraduates who wished to study abroad, I found them to be excellent students. The programmes into which they enrolled were likewise excellent: sound academic programmes offering great potential for academic and professional growth. I assumed, since during those years the University of Virginia was rising to its reputation as the best state university in the United States (see Stephen G. Smith, ed., *America's Best Colleges* [Washington: U.S. News and World Report, 1999], 36, 41), that others in the academic community shared my sense of the high quality of students choosing to study abroad and the programmes in which they were enrolling.

I soon learned otherwise, however. In 1988-89 I participated in the Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies (CAFLIS), a federally funded national committee dedicated to expanding the role of international education in all its components at all levels of American education. Established in 1987 as a two-year project, CAFLIS drew together representatives from 165 member organisations, from businesses, state and local governments, language and exchange groups, to examine international education "and its relation to our nation's ability to cooperate and to compete with the rest of the world in this and the next century," in the words of Frances Haley, Chair of the CAFLIS Working Group on State and Local Initiatives (Frances Haley, "Reforming Education for the International Century," New York: Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies, 1989).

Throughout the CAFLIS committee meetings, I heard repeated evidence of negative and contradictory views from the higher education community toward study abroad. Study abroad, many implied, is or should be for the academic or institutional elite -- yet U.S. study abroad was described as an academically weak activity pursued by women who were most interested in it for leisurely cultural acquisition at best and a great shopping trip at worst. Many participants appeared to believe that international education was frivolous, unmonitored, and lacking in academic rigor and purpose. I heard the statement that study abroad programmes should do something to train students to help function professionally and competitively

in the modern world (thus implying that they were not already). Even leading members of the international education community who served on the committee spoke in a highly critical way about study abroad and its place and value within the American educational system. Faculty, committee members said, should develop more serious academic goals for their students. Study abroad, they insisted, needed to change in order to make a functional contribution to students' education, rather than simply offering a cultural experience.

Sensitised, I began to recognise that even some of my own colleagues at the University of Virginia held such doubts. They too seemed unsure that study abroad represented an academically rigorous education. They too doubted that study abroad could provide students with an educational experience likely to contribute to their professional development. They seemed to believe that their home campus curriculum provided a much better education than anything a student could get abroad. I was shocked, as recently as the beginning of the 1999-2000 academic year, to hear the same sentiment expressed by a former University of Virginia colleague, despite almost one-quarter century of successful academic study abroad pursuits now in place at that university. I have heard such statements even from some foreign language faculty members. Colleagues generally seemed to assume that when students went abroad to study, they were going on vacation and would not experience any significant professional or academic development during their time away. Those same colleagues believed that faculty members who supported study abroad did so at the risk of promotion or tenure, choosing vacation experiences over serious academic work.

Study abroad, many seemed to believe, was still the old 'Grand Tour' experience, a leisurely trip for the purpose of absorbing culture, enjoyed by the wealthiest of students, primarily women. Some departments refused (and, for that matter, still do refuse) to accept credit from a study abroad experience toward a student's major. The implicit message was that a serious, bonafide education was available only in the United States. Those who chose to participate in or support study abroad seemed to be marginalised within the U.S. higher education community.

These realisations shocked me, since the opinions did match the evidence I had before me of strong students engaged in challenging, valuable work abroad. I began to question how study abroad was indeed viewed within the larger American higher education community. Further, I began to ask how those views corresponded to the actual experience of students and their sponsors. The disparity between prevailing attitudes and my own experience has driven the work of this thesis, as I tested the hypothesis that opinions about study abroad have influenced the implementation and success of policies about study abroad in the higher education community.

28. This conference was sponsored by four organisations -- the Association of American Colleges, the Council on Student Travel, the Experiment in International Living, and the Institute of International Education -- and supported by the Ford Foundation, the Danforth Foundation, the Hazen Foundation, and the Corning Glass Foundation. It featured speakers from the academic community, including rectors, chancellors, or presidents from institutions like the University of Geneva, Mount Holyoke College, and the University of California.

29. John E. Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad: The Development of Study Abroad Programs by American Colleges and Universities* (New York: CIEE Occasional Papers, series no. 24, 1987), 17-18; Institute of International Education, *Transplanted Students: A Report of the National Conference on Undergraduate Study Abroad* (New York: IIE, 1961).

30. In 1971, the National Association of Foreign Student Affairs upgraded its committee on study abroad, first formed in 1963, and established SECUSSA, the Section on U.S. Students Abroad (A. Lee Zeigler, "History of SECUSSA," panel presentation, NAFSA: Association of International Educators National Conference, 28 May 1998).

31. Barbara Burn, *Expanding the International Dimensions of Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), 6. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter formed the President's Commission on Language and International Studies, chaired by James A. Perkins, which published the report, *Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979) and established the tone of reports in the 1980s. Its themes were echoed in 1983, when the National Commission on Excellence in Education, convened by the U.S. Department of Education, submitted its Report to the Nation and the Secretary of Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 1983), urging increased international education; and in 1984, in Richard D. Lambert's *Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1984), which urged a national foundation not only as a funding organisation but also as "an initiator and implementer of actions that are essential to the national interest." Such a foundation, Lambert argued, could help improve foreign language competency, internationalise U.S. business, train foreign affairs specialists, and significantly increase international education opportunities (Lambert, *Points of Leverage*). When the New England Board of Higher Education published the report of its Regional Project on the Global Economy and Higher Education in New England, in 1987, it called internationalisation "one of the most powerful substantive developments in the history of American higher education" yet considered business and higher education in New England only "weakly connected" (Sven Groennings, *The Impact of Economic Globalization on Higher Education* [Boston: Staff Paper No. III, New England Board of Higher Education, 1987]).

32. The American Council on Education published Richard Lambert's 1988 *International Studies and the Undergraduate*, which called attention to "the steady drumbeat of reports and public statements bemoaning the continued unpreparedness of this generation of students for the cosmopolitan environment that will face them" (Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate, A Special Report* [Washington: American Council on Education, 1989], 10). In partial answer, Lambert called for increased student numbers and a broader range of both participants and sites.

In the same year, Craufurd Goodwin and Michael Nacht published *Abroad and Beyond: Patterns in American Overseas Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Sponsored by the Institute of International Education, Goodwin and Nacht's work assumed a powerful place among reports recommending change and strategies to achieve it. They emphasised fuller integration of

international study into scientific, professional, and graduate study fields. In 1989 the Higher Education Panel of the American Council on Education published a policy statement titled *What We Can't Say Can Hurt Us: A Call for Foreign Language Competence by the Year 2000* (1989). Addressing administrators, this statement proposed higher national standards in foreign language skills and global competencies, goals seconded within the report by policy makers in government and business. Likewise *America in Transition: The International Frontier*, a Report of the Task Force on International Education from the National Governors' Association (1989), emphasised global education as a strategy for economic development. The Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Language and International Studies published a report and recommendations from its Working Group on State and Local Initiatives, articulating a "unanimous conviction that international education must become a higher national priority" (Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies [CAFLIS], *Reforming Education for the International Century* [Washington: CAFLIS, 1989]).

33. Published by the Liaison Group for International Educational Exchange (1990) and summarised in testimony before the Subcommittee on International Operations of the U.S. House of Representatives.

34. Richard W. Dye, testimony presented before the Subcommittee on International Operations, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1 August 1990.

35. A report to the Occasional Paper Series of the Council on International Educational Exchange.

36. *Educating Americans for a World in Flux: Ten Ground Rules for Internationalizing Higher Education* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1995).

37. Urbain De Winter, *Overcoming Barriers to Study Abroad: A Report of the New York State Task Force on International Education* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1995), 3.

38. See a comprehensive list of policy statements, authors identified as policy makers, and organisations commissioning reports in endnotes 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, of this chapter and Appendices E and F of this thesis.

39. New York, August 1988. See Appendix D for full text of report.

40. New York, May 1990. See Appendix E for full text of report.

41. The Council on International Educational Exchange is referred to in study abroad literature as 'CIEE' or 'Council,' abbreviations which will be used in this thesis.

42. *Educating for Global Competence: The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange* (New York: CIEE, August 1988), 5.

43. Ibid.

44. *NAFSA Membership Directory, 1997-98* (New York: NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 1997), v.

45. *A National Mandate*, 7.

46. *A National Mandate*, 7-8.

47. See Chapter Two of this thesis for a full explanation of Foucault's theoretical terminology. Foucault defines an 'episteme' as a conception developed through community discourse which "provides man's everyday perception with theoretical powers, and defines the conditions in which he can sustain a discourse about things that is recognized to be true" (Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, translated by Alan Sheridan [New York: Random House, 1970], xxi).

48. Philip Barker, *Michel Foucault, An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 66-67.

49. Foucault's method of inquiry is an exploration of the historical context in which specific discourses form (Foucault, *Archaeology*, 138-141, 162, 164, 205). He labels this method 'archaeology,' explaining it as the process of investigating discourse formation in its historical context, to "bring to light" the foundations of epistemic development (Foucault, *Order of Things*, xxi).

50. Foucault calls this method of investigating discourse 'genealogy.' A purpose of genealogy is to 'bring to light,' or illuminate, the discourses hidden by the empowered, normalised beliefs -- the alternative discourses, in other words; the discourses that are excluded and go unheard. For Foucault, the purpose of genealogy is to identify the struggle of the disenfranchised and establish a basis for change. See "The Discourse on Language," Appendix to *Archaeology*, 215-237. Genealogical inquiry is grounded in analysis of the immediate circumstance, not in a historiography that claims objectivity, with referents to historical precedents or transcendental principles. The function of a genealogical method of inquiry is to enable a historiography, which minimises the intrusion of the values of the historian into the interpretation of discourses past or present. Instead, a genealogical approach focuses on the discursive events themselves, exclusive of interpretations through historical precedents or transcendental referents about what the events mean. This allows the historical voice to be heard and promotes in the historian an increased awareness of his own beliefs and how they shape his or her historical investigation (Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Donald F. Bouchard, ed., (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp 146-152.

51. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), xix.

52. I was given the opportunity by the Director of the Sweet Briar Junior Year Abroad Program, Emile Langlois, to construct and disseminate a survey to the alumni of that programme, in order to explore their views of their study abroad experiences. Since, as Chapter Three and Four will describe, Sweet Briar's is the oldest study abroad programme in the United States (Sweet Briar College having taken over operation of the programme instituted originally by

the University of Delaware), this survey, in combination with earlier surveys done of Delaware participants, found through archival research at the University of Delaware, will help describe discourse from both men and women about their experience from the first study abroad programme to the present.

During my years working with the Council on International Educational Exchange (1991-97), an organisation described above in this chapter, I had the opportunity to help construct two surveys: *CIEE Market Study: Motivations for Study Abroad* (H. Fairfax Ayres, Andrea Brennan, Michael Clancy, Timothy Cronin, John Druitt, Julie Gibbons, Lois Lynch, Kevin Marks, Debra Stinchfield, Kathryn Young; James Rubin, faculty advisor; Christopher Gale, project supervisor; [Charlottesville, Va.: Darden School of Graduate Business Studies, University of Virginia, May 1996]; and *Study Abroad Baseline Survey* (unpublished report, Council on International Educational Exchange, 1996). Through the generosity of Council, I was also given permission to use that organisation's survey data, unpublished elsewhere, as part of this thesis.

As stated in the text, this fieldwork was conducted to illuminate the field of discourse to which a Foucaultian analysis would be applied. Full information about these surveys will appear in the endnotes at each first appearance in this thesis.

53. Foucault says archaeology seeks to define the structure of discursive practices as they rationalise together into meaning (Foucault, *Archaeology*, 138).

Chapter Two

A Conceptual Framework for an Analysis of Discourse and Belief about Study Abroad

This chapter will set out Michel Foucault's basic conceptions and their utility for this thesis.

Foucault's theory of discourse and power permit an exploration of how 'traditional beliefs' are generated and sustained; what and whom they normalise or exclude, thereby endowing power; and how they are transformed.

As indicated, the central task of this thesis is to explore whether there exists -- as suggested in the previous chapter through personal experience and a review of the clichés appearing in policy discourse -- a constellation of traditional beliefs composing an episteme held by the U.S. higher education community which defines study abroad as academically weak and without significant functional purpose. Such an episteme would empower those who are suspicious of study abroad; render policy recommendations ineffective; and dismiss alternative discourses, which constitute study abroad as rigorous and useful.

To understand how Foucault's theory can be adapted for the investigative work of this thesis, this chapter will examine Foucault's concept of 'the episteme' and the

series of statements that form together in discourse to create it. In this thesis, these statements are labeled 'traditional beliefs.' This chapter will explore the fields of discourse in which this formation is generated, as well as Foucault's view that the purpose of historical inquiry is to uncover foundations of belief, thereby contributing to the potential for epistemic mutation and redistribution of power.

Part One. The Power of Discourse

For Foucault, discourse produces an episteme, or over-arching belief, which exerts power and can be evaluated through a process he terms 'archaeological inquiry.' This perspective of the episteme and its exploration through archaeological inquiry can facilitate examination of beliefs within the American academy about study abroad.

Discourse

In *Death and Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel*, Foucault describes discourse as a creative force in the community, constituting what is believed:

. . . we live in a world in which things have been said. . . . We live in a world completely marked by, all laced with, discourse, that is to say, utterances which have been spoken, of things said, of

affirmations, interrogations, of discourses which have already occurred. To that extent, the historical world in which we live cannot be dissociated from all the elements of discourse which have inhabited this world and continue to live in it as the economic process, the demographic, etcetera, etcetera. Thus spoken language, as a language that is already present, in one way or another determines what can be said afterward either independent of or with the general framework of language.¹

Discourse, as Foucault conceives it, is a group of statements 'systematised,' or 'rationalised,'² by use into what Foucault calls 'discursive formation.' In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* he explains:

We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity . . . it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. . . it is, from beginning to end, historical -- a fragment of history, a unity and discontinuity in history itself.³

Discursive formation has internal coherence or unity,⁴ which produces conceptions, accepted as 'truth,' defining what is right or wrong, good or bad, one thing versus another. It is powerful, establishing what can be believed and what cannot, what is normal and what is not, what behaviours are accepted and expected and what behaviours are deviant. This formation includes the social practices that are produced and sustained by

discourse.⁵ Analysis of discourse "tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules."⁶

The power of discourse is not exerted from above but exercised by all who participate in discursive formations: "these tactics were invented and organised from the starting points of local conditions and particular needs."⁷ This discursive power defines what is worthy of circulation in the culture,⁸ although "When Foucault uses the term 'power,' he does not mean ethnic, social, or religious domination, or economic exploitation."⁹ He recognises that there are "group-affiliated" dominations, but for him, the real essence of power as it is exercised through discourse is different. Power "applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects."¹⁰

Foucault conceives of discourse as a powerful, self-sustaining process. Discourse consists of a series of statements, through language and practice, which interact

through discursive formation. This discursive formation by a community constructs for itself beliefs or 'truths' which define, normalise, and marginalise; it permits exploration of empowerment and exclusion in any group.

In this thesis, the term 'traditional belief' is used to describe that "group of statements" belonging to the same discursive formation. These traditional beliefs are statements for which "conditions of existence" can be defined.¹¹ They are bound historically, and the conditions that produced them and empowered them all to be believed as "truths" can be explored.

This thesis argues that with the development of modern study abroad in the United States, a set of statements, or traditional beliefs, emerged that diminished the worth of foreign education. These beliefs, suggested by clichés described in the discourse about study abroad, can be explored historically. Their formation into a powerful definition of study abroad emerges from the "local conditions and particular needs" of the time.¹² This kind of powerful definition, generated through discourse formation to determine what is worthy and unworthy, is what Foucault labels an 'episteme.'

Episteme

Foucault calls this powerful concept -- the *épistème* (episteme) -- "a set of relations capable, in a given period, of uniting discursive practices giving rise to epistemological figures."¹³ "The episteme is not a form of knowledge (*connaissance*) or type of rationality which . . . manifests the sovereign unity of a subject, a spirit, or a period; it is the totality of relations that can be discovered, for a given period."¹⁴

Because of the power of discourse, an episteme is constructed through the discursive process. The basic unit of analysis is the statement (*énoncé*). A discursive formation is a group of statements.¹⁵ A statement becomes a discursive practice which systematises accidental and unintentional multiple discourse strands¹⁶ into a related discursive formation, its components gaining acceptance as truth and emerging as an episteme:

When in the operation of a discursive formation, a group of statements is articulated, claims to validate (even unsuccessfully) norms of verification and coherence, and when it exercises a dominant function (as a model, a critique, or a verification) over knowledge, we will say that the discursive formation crosses a *threshold of epistemologization*.¹⁷

In *The Order of Things*, Foucault argues an episteme "in a given period, delimits in the totality of experience a field of knowledge, defines the mode of being of the objects that appear in that field, provides man's everyday perception with theoretical powers, and defines the conditions in which he can sustain a discourse about things that is recognized to be true."¹⁸ An episteme, composed through discursive formation,¹⁹ is the 'fundamental code' of a community, framing that community's reality.²⁰

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault posits that this formation of discourse produces power which rewards that which is defined as positive in the vision of reality it generates: "In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth."²¹

An episteme exerts power because it constrains, controls, and sustains how a concept is understood and what is accepted or allowed regarding it.²² Once fabricated, the episteme is self-sustaining, even in the face of contraindications.²³ Ideas that exist outside of or in contrast to what is believed lie beyond the pale of approval or sometimes even perception.

Power accrues to discourse that fits within the scope of the episteme -- the discourse animated by, reflecting, and sustaining the episteme.²⁴ Positive power

enables and allows, solving problems through its conception and serving the needs of those encompassed by its definition.²⁵ Negative power is "power that says no"²⁶ -- power that establishes and enforces what *cannot* be done.

For Foucault, the power of the episteme 'normalizes.'²⁷ That which is not normal is the aberrant, unusual, or bad. Power accrues to those defined as normal, and those defined as abnormal are, by definition, marginalised and not powerful. Abnormality conveys aberration and therefore disability and powerlessness.²⁸ The episteme is power and, as such, sustains a vision and is insulated from change.

In sum, an episteme is that over-arching belief produced as a result of a series of statements within discourse which coalesce together as a group of related ideas. These ideas mutually reinforce one another in their vision of what is good and bad, right and wrong. This formation creates a consistent and dominant perception. As Foucault says, when these statements (again, in this thesis, labeled 'traditional beliefs') form with a common theme to become a "dominant" vision, they cross the "threshold of epistemologisation" and together form a definition which gains acceptance as a powerful "truth."

This truth is authoritative. It can validate or exclude. Once established, the episteme is held at an essentially unconscious level and is the ground of vision and understanding. Foucault calls the episteme "a basement [*sous-sol*] of thought, a mental infrastructure underlying all strands of the knowledge (on man) at a given age, a conceptual 'grid' . . . that amounts to an 'historical *a priori*.'" ²⁹ The episteme grounds knowledge, allows certain kinds of knowledge to assume validity and acceptance, and renders invalid that which is not normalised by this grounding. ³⁰

This thesis argues that through discursive formation, the statements within the discourse of the academy -- the traditional beliefs -- about study abroad, produced an over-arching episteme that defines foreign education as academically weak and without significant functional purpose, especially with regard to professional training. These statements interact with one another to become the dominant vision within the academic community about the nature and worth of study abroad. Because the episteme defines study abroad negatively, it has the power to marginalise it. ³¹

To explore the historical conditions in which these statements, or traditional beliefs, about study abroad formed into a coherent discourse that produced the

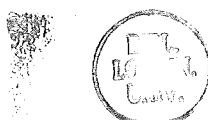
devaluing episteme, this thesis will turn to the arena where study abroad is a topic of discussion: the discourse of the American academy.

Part Two. Sources of Discourse: Disciplinary Groups and Social Institutions

This power of discourse to form an episteme defining study abroad emerges through the discourse of the academy and its member groups, as Chapter Three will describe.

Discourse is not an individual experience; groups develop discourse. For Foucault, the language which groups share organises a social reality with extensive power to determine the distribution, circulation, and validation of certain discourses.³²

Social groups, such as members of academic institutions, as well as sub-groups composed of members of the same discipline within the academy, define their boundaries and identities through their discourses: "the subject emerges from within discourse."³³ Their discourses, like all others, are systematised: "Archaeology tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules."³⁴ And, just as with all other forms of discourse,



circumstances unique to a given time produce a group's 'technical' discourse, which defines the rules of practice shared by that group. "The power of the Norm appears through the disciplines," writes Foucault.³⁵ Technical discourse, produced by experts in a field, has extensive power to define.³⁶

There is a 'politics of discourse' that demands "that the representatives of these emerging disciplines speak their expertise, their 'science,' and galvanise for themselves an authoritative place."³⁷ "The *politics of discourse* examines discourse to determine what political interest it serves, how it participates in the politics of truth, what the speaker's benefit is, who speaks on behalf of whom and what particular subject positions emerge from it."³⁸

It is this process which gives rise to the power of the disciplines within academia. Foucault claims educational systems validate specific discourses because such validation "is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the power it carries with it."³⁹ Foucault describes disciplinary power like a machine working with all its parts, with no individual or group in charge: "although it is true that its pyramidal organization gives it a 'head,' it is the apparatus as a whole that

produces 'power' and distributes individuals in this permanent and continuous field."⁴⁰ This power endows participants in this discursive community of specialists with its beliefs about its members, its activities, and its worth.⁴¹

As with any group of specialists, educators and educational institutions evolve a technical discourse, made up of language and definitions that describe the activities and traits of their field. When the discourse constitutes some activities as good or important (like professional training for men⁴²) and some as less important (like liberal arts education for women⁴³), then academic activities (like study abroad) that are attached to any of these definitions will be valued accordingly.

The use of Foucault's concept of technical discourse will, in this thesis, refer not to the discourse of a specific academic discipline but rather to the discourse of international educators and their colleagues in the academy, examining their discursive formations of verification and abnormalisation that validate domestic education as the norm and foreign education as the deviant. 'Domestic education' is used in this thesis to describe education conducted within the boundaries of the United States at accredited U.S. institutions of higher education.

As social institutions, colleges and universities also exert specific and serious self-defining effects on their constituencies.⁴⁴ Foucault describes the 'will to truth' -- a will that relies on institutional support and emerges from the context in which some statements are taken to be true and others false. Foucault says this will to truth "is both reinforced and accompanied by whole strata of practices . . . But it is probably even more profoundly accompanied by the manner in which knowledge is employed in a society, the way in which it is exploited, divided and in some ways, attributed."⁴⁵ Social institutions themselves are defined through the discourse of their constituents, which include disciplinary groups.⁴⁶

Foucault's concept that the discourse of an academic group forms its truths provides insight into how a belief about an educational phenomenon can evolve and be sustained. His conception of the university as a discursive community, generating, reinforcing, and commanding adherence to normalised philosophies, equally contributes to this understanding. Together these concepts encompass the fields of discourse in which to explore the original formation and continuing sustenance of traditional beliefs about study abroad.

Having identified the fields of discourse toward which this study's inquiry can be directed, the next step is to understand Foucault's methods for analysing epistemic power and how they might be adapted to the investigative work of this thesis.

Part Three. The Methods of Inquiry: Archaeology and Genealogy

Foucault uses the term 'archaeology' to describe the process for understanding how a powerful episteme can develop and sustain its authority. Achieving this understanding is Foucault's reason for inquiry. "The role for theory today seems to me to be just this," he writes, "not to formulate the global systematic theory which holds everything in place, but to analyse the specificity of mechanisms of power,"⁴⁷ those mechanisms being discursive formations leading to an episteme:⁴⁸

What I am trying to bring to light is the epistemological field, the *episteme* in which knowledge . . . grounds its positivity and thereby manifests a history which is not that of its growing perfection, but rather that of its conditions of possibility Such an enterprise is not so much a history, in the traditional meaning of that word, as an 'archaeology.'⁴⁹

Foucault's own inquiry is into the fundamental epistemes of Western civilization, identifying

transcendental, existential, structural, and post-structural stages.⁵⁰ Foucault describes the episteme not as a general developmental stage of reason but instead "a complex relationship of successive displacements."⁵¹ This idea is particularly reflected in his later works where, according to critic Philip Barker, Foucault retreated somewhat from the idea of an episteme as a single foundation of an age, moving instead to a somewhat more flexible idea of an episteme as a methodological tool "to define the conditions under which a particular discursive formation takes its specific form."⁵² (Other critics have noted as well how Foucault's thought evolves throughout his thirty-year writing career.⁵³)

The episteme is regarded by most members of the community as true.⁵⁴ In contrast, Foucault seeks to know "how men govern (themselves and others) by the production of truth," clarifying that "by production of truth I mean not the production of true utterances, but the establishment of domains in which the practice of true and false can be made at once ordered and pertinent."⁵⁵

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault describes his method of historical inquiry as a 'diagnosis'⁵⁶ of how a culture establishes for itself a set of truths.⁵⁷ His method is the analysis of statements through discourse formation, which proceeds by understanding exteriority

and "holds that we are not to burrow to the hidden core of discourse, to the heart of the thought or meaning manifested in it"; instead, taking the discourse itself, its appearance and its regularity, we should look "for its external conditions of existence, for that which gives rise to the chance series of these events and fixes its limits."⁵⁸ The conditions giving rise to discursive practices and beliefs are found in the historical context, which Foucault labels 'field of discourse.'⁵⁹ Through the process of revealing these practices and beliefs, discursive formation is uncovered.⁶⁰ "Archaeological analysis individualizes and describes discursive formations."⁶¹

Foucault introduces a companion concept to archaeology, the idea of 'genealogy,' a process which helps explore ignored or excluded discourses: "Let us give the term 'genealogy' to the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today."⁶² Foucault's conception of genealogical methodology complements his conception of the archaeological: beliefs arise out of human discourse and practice and are not transcendental. For the historian, recognising this facilitates the increased possibility that he or she might step away from his own

beliefs to examine a discursive event in its own context. This vision helps the historian shift from the traditional historiographical conception that events are explained by an examination of historical precedent or transcendental referent. Instead it allows, as much as is possible, voices to be heard in the context of their own values and beliefs.⁶³

The genealogy of knowledge includes two separate bodies of knowledge: the dissenting beliefs and conceptions that did not become widely recognised or validated, and the 'local beliefs' of participants in an event whose voice and knowledge is obscured, going unrespected and unrecognised. Genealogy explores what is hidden by the normalisation that occurs within the knowledge and belief system of the empowered discourse.⁶⁴ The purpose for genealogical inquiry is to expose marginalised or disenfranchised discourses.⁶⁵

The end result of inquiry is to 'unveil' the foundations of belief, by understanding how they arise and what vision and whose interests they sustain.⁶⁶ Discourse analysis does not reveal history as a referent but as a discursive process,⁶⁷ explaining the emergence of present perceptions. To study this discursive formation and the factors that produce it is to explain how and why values and beliefs attach to an activity and both define

and confine it. This is the diagnostic work of an archaeological inquiry.

Foucault's concept of archaeology will guide the work of this thesis. This inquiry will adapt Foucault's concept of archaeology as historical diagnosis to examine the fields of discourse in which traditional beliefs in the United States formed to produce a powerful episteme that defined and continues to sustain a vision of study abroad as academically and functionally insignificant.

In this thesis, Foucault's concept of the episteme as a methodological tool is adapted not to the analysis of the over-arching belief of an historical epoch but instead to an analysis of the dominant belief reflected in a specific discursive formation in a specific community: the formation of statements, or traditional beliefs, about study abroad into a definition of this educational practice in the American academy.

Foucault's description of normalisation and marginalisation, endowed through the episteme, facilitates analysis of the role study abroad plays within the academy. It also permits an investigation of the impact of predominantly female enrollment on the traditional beliefs that emerged about foreign study.⁶⁸

The idea of genealogical investigation, exploring discourses obscured by the episteme, suggests reasons for

examining alternative discourses and the epistemic conceptions of those disenfranchised. In this thesis, that concept is applied to a study of the discourses of faculty, administrators, and students who have been advocates for study abroad.

Finally, for Foucault, these methods of inquiry have a purpose. They do not constitute an act of historical inquiry conducted only to understand a past. Instead, the historical exploration they allow is itself a 'call to action' in the present. In this thesis, the body of knowledge derived through an adaptation of Foucault's methodologies for inquiry will be utilised to evaluate the 'calls to action' about study abroad -- namely, the policy discourses calling for study abroad to grow and change.

Part Four. Transformation

Foucault argues that change is inherent in the concept of archaeology.⁶⁹ The diagnostic methods of archaeology, through the examination of the fields of discourse, should uncover the foundations of epistemic development.⁷⁰ And, following the concept of genealogy, illuminating alternative discourses introduces new discursive components within the community -- which is, for Foucault, the purpose of inquiry.

As statements emerge in a discursive community, the potential for transformation also emerges: "What counts in the things said by men is not so much what they may have thought or the extent to which these things represent their thoughts, as that which systematises them from the outset, thus making them thereafter endlessly accessible to new discourses and open to the task of transforming them."⁷¹ Sources for new discourse, when they are identifiable, can include the discourse of research and writing within a discipline and the emergence of alternative discourses.⁷²

Thus for Foucault, the very point of research is change, although he does not fully explain how such change occurs. Indeed, Merquior suggests that in *The Order of Things*, Foucault deliberately omits mention of the causes of epistemic change.⁷³ But elsewhere, in various works and at various times in his career, he provides hints, indications, and occasional guidelines as to the possibility and even the mechanisms of how belief might change.⁷⁴ He argues that through inquiry, contextualising and exposing how traditional discursive power has formed and functioned, new threads of discourse may empower a new vision and new groups.⁷⁵

Foucault's goal is to change the present by transforming the way human beings think about and act

upon themselves and others.⁷⁶ The researcher does have a role to play in change.⁷⁷ Foucault argues that the inquirer's critical purpose is to "to show that things are not as self-evident as once believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such."⁷⁸

In Foucault's vision, the researcher may change not just how things are understood but how people act as well, representing a change in power. He (or she) who is affirmed by definition is endowed with power. If new visions emerge, new groups are empowered. Those best suited to help expose the roots of traditional beliefs, thereby challenging their validity and contributing the emergence of new beliefs, are members of the group or discipline in question, who are positioned to articulate the group's issues.⁷⁹ At the same time, the power of the episteme defines for all members their conceptions of themselves.⁸⁰ The inquirer, too, can be constrained by the power of the episteme.⁸¹

Foucault grants that individuals do not knowingly hold beliefs that constrain their vision. At the same time, he is not suggesting that investigation is impossible.⁸² In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault says the episteme of an age does not fully control every person within that age.⁸³ Those who exist at the margins

-- those whose practices and beliefs are contrary to the dominant vision -- hold an alternate view. They are capable of escaping the bounds of the episteme sufficiently to enable them to conduct effective inquiry.

For Foucault, the central questions in an effective inquiry are these: who has power, and how can new groups and visions emerge to acquire it? "Traditional belief stabilizes prejudice; unveiling that belief empowers."⁸⁴ As the discursive components that have constituted traditional belief change, epistemic mutation is possible. There is no guarantee what the new epistemic form will be, but for Foucault, the potential exists that those who were marginalised by the now-exposed episteme may be empowered by the new one.

In Foucault's vision, the purpose of historical research is to uncover the foundations of knowledge that produce an episteme and therefore exert power. Inquiry should challenge the existing vision. This perspective guides this thesis, including its analysis of contemporary policy discourse.

Within the higher education community, study abroad policy makers advocate change. Yet, as suggested in Chapter One, their discourse reflects negative beliefs about the quality and function of study abroad that may militate against that change. The work of this thesis is

to inquire into the fields of discourse from which these clichés emanate, to determine if they exist as traditional beliefs, and to explore the foundations of each of the traditional beliefs, to analyse how they form to produce an episteme devaluing foreign education. Foucault's methodologies are adapted to contextualise the discourse fields from which these traditional beliefs emerged, thereby uncovering how the episteme they produce empowers and disenfranchises. This thesis will explore the fields of discourse of those excluded by the episteme, to identify their beliefs. By exposing the underpinnings of the episteme and the discourses it excludes, this inquiry provides a framework for re-evaluating study abroad policy discourse and its reception within higher education.

Conclusion: The Relevance of Foucault's Ideas to this Thesis

The work of Foucault assists in this thesis by guiding the conceptual framework adapted for this inquiry. It helps to understand how traditional beliefs about study abroad have emerged, empowering an episteme which has marginalised it; to illuminate alternative discourses about this educational practice; and to

analyse the role policy plays in the sustenance or transformation of the episteme.⁸⁵

For Foucault, universities and the intellectuals within them all contribute to this process of accepting, affirming, and transmitting societal "truths."⁸⁶ Higher education institutions are part of epistemic construction and maintenance, not separate from it.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault says discourses accepted as valid within the educational system maintain power and exclude alternative discourses.⁸⁷ Foucault sees the university as "an institution of totalization of intellectuals": the very inquiry conducted by intellectuals often reinforces the beliefs that constitute their social system.⁸⁸ Beliefs that are established in any system, including an educational system, in effect become agents of social power, defining what is strong or weak, valuing various academic activities, and upholding the status quo.⁸⁹

This thesis will adapt Foucault's concept of the episteme to explore the definition of study abroad that has emerged through the academy to control and constrain the valuation of overseas education in the higher education community. For Foucault, the episteme is produced when a series of statements coalesce into a related formation, each reinforcing and supporting the

other, and establish a powerful definition or belief which grounds understanding and perception. In this thesis, those statements are called 'traditional beliefs' and represent a constellation of related ideas that support one another in their devaluation of study abroad. Taken together, these statements become the grounds for understanding and evaluating foreign education. Together they cross the "threshold of epistemologization"⁹⁰ to become the dominant belief in the academy about study abroad.

Foucault's conception guides the inquiry in the subsequent chapters of this thesis as follows:

1. Foucault's concept of archaeological inquiry and his theory of the power of discourse, manifest in statements that are rationalised through a process of discourse formation to produce an episteme, are adapted in this thesis to identify the traditional beliefs which compound to create an episteme which marginalises study abroad in American higher education, constituting it as academically weak and without functional goals relevant to the purposes for higher education.

This investigation leads, in Chapter Three of this thesis, to:

- a. An analysis of contemporary discourse in the higher education community to explore the possible existence of these statements, or traditional beliefs.
 - b. An analysis of the fields of discourse which produced these traditional beliefs, contextualising the development of each of these beliefs and identifying them as a related and mutually reinforcing set of statements which together form the episteme that defines and devalues study abroad.
2. Foucault's concept of genealogical inquiry and of the power of the episteme to normalise and marginalise, thereby rendering powerless and excluded the alternative discourses, is adapted in this thesis.

This guides the work of Chapter Four through:

- a. An analysis of the discourse of motivations and expectations articulated by the faculty and administrative sponsors of study abroad programmes.
- b. An analysis of the discourse of motivations and expectations articulated by participants

in study abroad programmes, particularly the female majority constituency.

3. Foucault's vision of historiography is the main perspective for the inquiry of this thesis. For Foucault, the purpose of inquiry is to uncover the foundations of belief, exposing the discursive formations which have produced an episteme and empowered those normalised by it. This historical diagnosis -- to use Foucault's term -- carries with it the consequence of new discourse and therefore the possibility for the development of new patterns of belief, the emergence of a new episteme, and new loci of power.

This investigative perspective culminates in Chapter Five of this thesis with:

a. An analysis of the discourse of policy makers, to illuminate the extent to which they introduce alternative discourse or are constrained by the power of traditional beliefs. As members of the academic and study abroad community, these policy makers are situated in a position, Foucault would argue, to reveal the foundations of

traditional discourse and introduce
alternative discourse most effectively.

- b. An analysis of venues through which policy
makers introduce their discourse into the
broader academic community.

Overall, then, it is suggested that Foucault's work
provides a broad framework for understanding how and why
beliefs develop within the academic world. This
framework elucidates the power of those beliefs to define
and persist.

This thesis will now turn to exploring the
foundation of traditional beliefs which produce the
episteme about study abroad and to illuminating the
alternative discourses of sponsors and participants.

Endnotes, Chapter Two

1. Michel Foucault, *Death and Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel*, trans. Charles Roas (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1986), 164-165.
2. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 138; Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), xix. Statements 'systematise' or 'rationalise' to form meaning.
3. Michel Foucault, *Archaeology*, 117. Further, Foucault states that "Discursive formation . . . is a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function" (ibid.).
4. Ibid., 32-33.
5. Ibid., 138, 202-206. According to commentators on Foucault, "discourse" is Foucault's word for thought as social practice. See J. G. Merquior, *Foucault* (London: Fontana Modern Masters, Fontana Press/HarperCollins), 18.
6. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 138.
7. Michel Foucault, "Body/Power," in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Random House, 1980), 159.
8. Philip Barker, *Michel Foucault, An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 6.
9. Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 212 n2.
10. Ibid., 212.
11. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 117.
12. Foucault, "Body/Power," 159.
13. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 25, 121.
14. Ibid., 191.
15. Ibid., 115.
16. Foucault identifies the system of dispersions going into discourse formation as accidental and unintentional strands of discourse which produce episteme (*Archaeology*, 37-39).
17. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 186-187.

18. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1970), xxii.

19. For definitions of 'discourse formation' and 'discursive formation,' see Foucault, *Archaeology*, Chapter 2; Merquior, *Foucault*, 34; and Barker, *Foucault*, 7.

20. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Tavistock, 1965), 164.

21. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 180-194. Roger P. Mourad, Jr., interprets Foucault's definition of discourse as the process which ordains truth for all who participate within the culture, leading participants to become believers, accepting the definitions and sources of truth without question, not because they are told 'the truth' but because they create it together (Roger P. Mourad, Jr., *Postmodern Philosophical Critique and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Higher Education* [Westport, Conn., and London: Bergin and Garvey, 1997], 54).

22. The episteme exercises a power Foucault calls governmental. He means by this not political power but self-sustaining social power, governing "the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick" (Michel Foucault, "Afterword," in Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Foucault*, 221).

23. Ralph Cohen, conversation with author, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1 September 1999. Cohen is Kenan Professor of English at the University of Virginia and founding editor of the journal *New Literary History*, in which he introduced Foucault to the American scholarly community. This interview was conducted to explore the adaptability of Foucault's theory to an inquiry into an educational function, including specifically the topic of this thesis.

24. Foucault, *Discipline*, 185, 187, 191-192.

25. Cohen, interview.

26. Foucault, "Body/Power," 139.

27. Foucault, *Discipline*, 183.

28. Episteme defines an act or event and the practitioners of it. In *Madness and Civilization*, for example, Foucault examines how the medical definition of 'hysteria' developed. He examines the word 'hysteria' and notes that it comes from the Greek for 'womb.' Until the Renaissance, it was believed that the uterus could become dislodged and wander in the body, producing illness. In females, 'hysteria' was the label attached to convulsions without any apparent physical cause. By the seventeenth century, the idea that a dislodged womb produced hysteria was no longer accepted. But because of these random strands in the history of definitions and discourse about hysteria, the term was and continues to be associated with women. Therefore, the traditional belief is that hysteria is a

woman's problem, associated with her sex. This belief, which emerged at a specific period and without reference to rationality, has been sustained, despite medical discourses that constitute contraindications. In the definition of hysteria, women have been marginalised. Discourse has defined what is sane or insane, normal or abnormal.

29. Merquior, *Foucault*, 38.

30. These ideas are unsettling because they threaten the very underpinnings of personal, rational belief. Foucault responds to those who are disturbed by his ideas: "I understand the unease of all such people. They have probably found it difficult enough to recognize that their history, their economics, their social practices, the language (*langue*) that they speak, the mythology of their ancestors, even the stories that they were told in their childhood, are governed by rules that are not all given to their consciousness . . . So many things have already eluded them in their languages (*langages*): they have no wish to see what they say go the same way . . ." (Foucault, *Archaeology*, 210-211).

Like the Aristotelian *ethos* (Michel Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment?" in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* [New York: Pantheon, 1984], 39), the episteme or traditional belief becomes "a critical and historical 'ontology of ourselves'" and the foundation of all our knowledge. The individual is a participant in what Foucault calls the 'practices of the self' (Gert J. J. Biesta, "Pedagogy without Humanism: Foucault and the Subject of Education," *A Quarterly Review of Education*, vol. 29, no. 1 [Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers], 7).

31. Cohen, interview.

32. Barker, *Foucault*, 7.

33. Ibid.

34. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 138.

35. Foucault, *Discipline*, 184.

36. Ibid., 133-227.

37. Barker, *Foucault*, 18. Foucault says "'Discipline' may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology. And it may be taken over either by 'specialized' institutions . . . or by institutions that use it as an essential instrument for a particular end . . . or by preexisting authorities that find in it a means of reinforcing or reorganizing their internal mechanisms of power . . ." (Foucault, *Discipline*, 215).

38. Barker, *Foucault*, 15.

39. Foucault, "The Discourse on Language," appendix to *Archaeology*, 227.

40. Foucault, *Discipline*, 177.

41. Barker describes: "In its operation, disciplinary power leads to the formation of bodies of knowledge about, and of, individuals which constitute the basis of relations they have with themselves and others. But what is unique to the disciplines is that they do not impose power from outside or above but rather they operate immanently through the construction of bodies of knowledge" (Foucault, 61).

42. See Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

43. See Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

44. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 216.

45. Ibid.

46. In social institutions, historical influences produce a self-image within an institution, and an institution conveys that self-image to its members with a force that has the capability of either constraining or empowering those individuals (Mourad, *Postmodern Philosophical Critique*, 60-61; Barker, *Foucault*, 6-7). This epistemic constitution holds sway because it defines, normalises, identifies, and self-sustains, unchallenged by alternative discourses -- because such information is by definition considered wrong or abnormal, or perhaps because it is not even perceived (Merquior, *Foucault*, 35-55).

47. Foucault, "Body/Power," 145.

48. According to Merquior, "Since epistemes are conceptual strata underpinning various fields of knowledge and corresponding to different epochs in Western thought, historical analysis must 'unearth' them -- hence the archaeological model" (Foucault, 36). Foucault wants to inquire how a given discourse gets articulated with other social practices, which are external to it (Merquior, *Foucault*, 34).

49. Foucault, *Order of Things*, xxii.

50. Foucault argues that ideas about where values, definitions, and beliefs come from have differed over time in Western culture, depending on the belief structure within which they developed:

a. TRANSCENDENTALISM: When God/Transcendent Power was understood to be the source of knowledge, definition, and value, God's rules said what was right/wrong or good/bad and what should/should not happen (Foucault, *Order of Things*, 308, 318, 320, 348).

b. EXISTENTIALISM: Man replaced God as the source of definition and value. "Before the end of the eighteenth century, man did not exist . . . He is a quite recent creature, which the demiurge of knowledge fabricated with its own hands less than two hundred years ago" (Foucault, *Order of Things*, 308). Nietzsche pronounced God dead, and man -- each individual -- became the source of definition of right/wrong, good/bad, what should/should not happen. Within this philosophy, as argued by Jean-Paul Sartre, each person makes up his own meaning (Jean-Paul Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, trans. Philip Mairet [London: Methuen & Co., 1948], 25-42).

The individual is responsible for his own beliefs and his own actions based upon those beliefs. When man is the episteme -- the source of knowing, defining, and valuing -- then the human sciences become a focus for education. Man is both the object and the subject of study (Foucault, *Order of Things*, 312). In this phase of human intellectual evolution, education no longer focused on the transcendent or the search for a transcendent, throwing into question as well the traditional liberal arts, which arose within the transcendentalist context, as the focus and purpose of education (Richard M. Weaver, *Ideas Have Consequences* [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971], 1-17).

c. STRUCTURALISM: By the middle of the twentieth century, doubt arose as to whether men, each with his own perception, could alone be the source of definition and belief. Society influences the individual in his or her formation of belief and definition, and so the structures of social institutions influence the individual in his process of defining. A philosophy that recognised social institutions to have influence over individual perceptions replaced the philosophy that considered the individual as the sole source of knowing and definition.

One of the strongest voices challenging Sartre's existentialist philosophy, and thereby moving the intellectual focus toward recognition of the influence of society over the individual, was Simone de Beauvoir's, in *The Second Sex* (trans. H. M. Parshley [New York: Vintage Books, 1974]). De Beauvoir used the example of women to challenge the idea that individuals are in full control of what they know and choose to believe, arguing that women grow up in a world defined by men, and in a world that defines women as secondary (de Beauvoir, *Second Sex*, xv-xxxiv). When women have heard only that definition, how can they hold any other belief?

In other words, de Beauvoir argued, social structure influences individual belief. More particularly, patriarchal social structure produces a set of beliefs that assume patriarchy and influence individual belief in that direction. Claude Levi-Strauss and others argued, further, that any culture had rules that governed social and human relations. Structuralists believed that the binary oppositions dominating a culture (up/down, good/bad, raw/cooked) evolve over time; their interrelations form the basis for meaning. They also posited that the structure of a culture's language is dominant, and that it is through and only through language that people think. In fact, they cannot think outside of the structure of their language (Barker, *Foucault*, 71-88).

d. POSTSTRUCTURALISM: In the next phase of intellectual development, Foucault suggests, the question is asked: Is it enough to say culture influences and modifies individuals? Are there not also multiple accidental strands of events which come together to produce beliefs and definitions -- strands unique to each period, thus producing traditional beliefs unique to the period? The specific intention of neither an individual nor an institution is sufficient to produce a belief. Beliefs do not develop to serve the goal of a powerful individual or group. Instead, beliefs develop within individuals as well as institutions because of the accidental confluence and sequence of events. Perhaps individuals or institutions do not consciously seek to accomplish a social goal so much as they are the victims of the power of discourse, which generates a belief (Foucault, *Archaeology*, 210-211).

-
51. Michel Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," in G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Hemel, Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 55.
52. Barker, *Foucault*, 98.
53. For example, see Merquior, *Foucault*, 85.
54. Dreyfus and Rabinow describe epistemes as the summation of often random accidental and temporal influences, their power existing unexamined by the society holding them. This power is "rooted deep in the social nexus" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Foucault*, 222).
55. Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," 79. Foucault wants to examine, explains Merquior, "the concrete way a given discourse (e.g., medical thought) gets articulated with other social practices, external to it" (Merquior, *Foucault*, 34). Through this practice of discourse, belief is created.
56. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 205-206. Diagnosis identifies why a particular belief emerges from a discourse: "We do not seek what is below what is manifest in the half-silent murmur of another discourse; we must show why it could not be other than it was, in what respect it is exclusive of any other, how it assumes, in the midst of others and in relation to them, a place that no other could occupy. The question proper to such an analysis might be formulated in this way: what is this specific existence that emerges from what is said and nowhere else?" (ibid., 28). Unlike language study, discourse study asks why one statement appeared instead of another.
57. Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," 79.
58. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 229.
59. Ibid., 141.
60. Ibid., 115, 164. Discourse systematises to produce belief: "Behind the completed system, what is discovered by the analysis of formations is not the bubbling source of life itself, life in an as yet uncaptured state; it is an immense density of systematicities, a tight group of multiple relations" (ibid., 76). Archaeology uncovers this systematisation. Its "description of discourses is deployed in the dimension of a general history; it seeks to discover that whole domain of institutions, economic processes, and social relations on which a discursive formation can be articulated; it tries to show how the autonomy of discourse and its specificity nevertheless do not give it the status of ideality and total historical independence; what it wishes to uncover is the particular level in which history can give place to definite types of discourse . . ." (ibid., 164-165).
61. Ibid., 138-141, 162, 164. "Archaeology also reveals relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, economic practices and processes. The *rapprochements* are not intended to uncover great cultural continuities, nor to isolate mechanisms of causality. Before a set of enunciative facts, archaeology does not ask what could have

motivated them (the search for contexts of formulation); nor does it seek to rediscover what is expressed in them (the task of hermeneutics); it tries to determine how the rules of formation that govern it -- and which characterize the positivity to which it belongs -- may be linked to non-discursive systems: it seeks to define specific forms of articulation" (Foucault, *Archaeology*, 162).

62. Michel Foucault, "Genealogy and Social Criticism, in Steven Seidman, ed., *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994); reprinted from Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Random House, 1980).

63. Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge*, 117; Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy and History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Donald F. Bouchard, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 139-64. Like archaeology, genealogy does not presume the origin of a belief can be pinpointed exactly in time or shown to be part of a continuous historical evolution. Also see Barker, *Foucault*, 20-24.

64. See Foucault, "Discourse on Language," 215-237; Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Foucault*, 119.

65. "Introduction" in D. C. Hoy, *Foucault: A Critical Reader* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 6-7.

66. Cohen, interview. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (39) Foucault describes the challenge for the inquirer: "Is there not a danger that everything that has so far protected the historian in his daily journey and accompanied him until nightfall (the destiny of rationality and the teleology of the sciences, the long, continuous labour of thought from period to period, the awakening and the progress of consciousness, its perpetual resumption of itself, the uncompleted, but uninterrupted movement of totalizations, the return to an ever-open source, and finally the historico-transcendental thematic) may disappear, leaving for analysis a blank, indifferent space, lacking in both interiority and promise?"

For Foucault, discursive formations in a particular period of time can generate an episteme (Foucault, *Death and Labyrinth*, 164-165) and constitute the focus of rationality for a given period, providing the rules of interpretation and of inclusion and exclusion, both social and intellectual.

67. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 64.

68. See Chapters Three and Four of this thesis for a discussion of the marginalised role of female students in the history of American higher education.

69. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 172-173: "We must define precisely what these changes consist of: that is, substitute for an undifferentiated reference to change -- which is both a general container for all events and the abstract principles of their succession -- the analysis of *transformations*. . . . Rather than refer to the living force of change (as if it were its own principle), rather than seek its causes (as if it were no more than a mere effect), archaeology tries to establish the system of transformations that constitute

'change'; it tries to develop this empty, abstract notion, with a view to according it the analysable status of transformation."

70. According to Merquior, Foucault's concept of epistemological categories became "politicized" (Merquior, *Foucault*, 85).

71. Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic*, xix. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (209), Foucault asserts beliefs can undergo transformation through changes in discursive practices. It is just not possible for the subject to do it exclusively. Foucault also refers to transformation as 'threshold,' 'rupture,' 'break,' 'mutation' (Foucault, *Archaeology*, 5-6). He describes the ability of an episteme to mutate: "Moreover, the episteme is not a motionless figure that appeared one day with the mission of effacing all that precedes it: it is a constantly moving set of articulations, shifts, and coincidences that are established, only to give rise to others . . . the episteme makes it possible to grasp the set of constraints and limitations which, at a given moment, are imposed on discourse: but this limitation is not the negative limitation that opposes knowledge (*connaissance*) to ignorance . . . ; it is what, in the positivity of discursive practices, makes possible the existence of epistemological figures and sciences . . . it is a questioning that accepts the fact of science only in order to ask the question what it is for that science to be a science And the point at which it separates itself off from all the philosophies of knowledge (*connaissance*) is that it relates this fact not to the authority of an original act of giving, which establishes in a transcendental subject the fact and the right, but to the processes of a historical practice" (Foucault, *Archaeology*, 192).

72. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. trans. A. M. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), xix; Foucault, *Archaeology*, 16.

73. Merquior, *Foucault*, 39. Foucault's *The Order of Things* deals with mutations between epistemes, but he states he is interested in the description of the changed episteme, not the causality, which makes it somewhat difficult to discover how change occurs, more so because he sees no cause and effect but rather discontinuity (Merquior, *Foucault*, 36-42).

74. Foucault believes that change in over-arching epistemes is essentially inexplicable and uncontrollable -- in a word, 'discontinuous.' Foucault defines discontinuity in *The Order of Things*. In short periods of time a dominating episteme may change, he says, not as a result of evolution but rather as an eruption, changing how the culture frames reality. Investigating discontinuity and its introduction into the discursive culture is a challenging historical task, and the historian easily missteps in his methodology by conferring the image of evolution and order on change, an arbitrary imposition (Foucault, *Order of Things*, 50). Foucault believes there can be changes of continuity within an episteme (Merquior, *Foucault*, 50). Foucault asks his readers to examine the conceptual underpinnings of the modern age in order to begin to challenge and undermine them. A particular discourse is not an "expression of universal themes" but "an event opened up by a specific culture at a particular moment," drawing discontinuity into its fabric (Barker, *Foucault*, 8).

-
75. Cohen, interview. Foucault's goal is not necessarily to empower a specific new vision but to expose the arbitrary power of the old and thereby introduce the possibility of new discourse. This introduction will inherently produce new conceptions and frameworks for understanding, newly allocated binaries of exclusion and inclusion and, therefore, newly allocated power.
76. Mourad, *Foucault*, 60. Foucault's own theory evokes some constraints, but it also offers the potential for illumination (Barker, *Foucault*, 10). This illumination occurs as "the subject (and its substitutes) [are] stripped of its creative role and analysed as a complex and variable function of discourse."
77. The researcher is "particularly interested in the implications of his critique for the role of the inquirer in society" (Mourad, *Foucault*, 60).
78. Michel Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984*, trans. Alan Sheridan et al., ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), 155.
79. Ibid., 14; Cohen, interview.
80. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault argues discourse generates the knowledge individuals have not only of their community but also of themselves (218-227). This self-governance and self-sustaining power -- Foucault's 'technologies of the self' -- make difficult the self-awareness required for transformation (Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," 79; and Michel Foucault, *Technologies of the Self*, ed. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton [Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988], 19). The production of truth is the production of self-sustaining normalisation, because it produces a reality that its producing constituency sees as normal. "Discipline," Foucault argues, "'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise" (Foucault, *Discipline*, 170).
81. Foucault argues that the pursuit of knowledge is not necessarily, or even often, a counter to culture, but more often a handmaiden to it. "Intellectuals are themselves agents of this system of power" (Foucault, "Intellectuals and Power," in Bouchard, ed., *Language, Counter-Memory*, 207-208: "[T]he idea of their responsibility for 'consciousness' and discourse forms part of the system.") See also Foucault, "Truth and Power," in Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge*, 126-133. "According to Foucault," writes Mourad, "the pursuit of knowledge, especially knowledge of the human being, rather than being an intellectual counter to power, has in modern history played a significant role in the complex utilization of power" (Mourad, *Foucault*, 59); see also "The Subject and Power" in Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Foucault*, 212.
82. Mourad, *Foucault*, 59; Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Foucault*, 212.
83. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 16.
84. Cohen, interview.

85. Any theoretical structure both imposes and excludes possibilities of vision. Foucault's insistence through much of his work on the rigidity of the power of the episteme is criticised as weak historical analysis (Merquior, *Foucault*, 56-75; also see Jan Miel, "Ideas or Epistemes: Hazard versus Foucault," *Yale French Studies* 49 [1973], 231-45, for example). Francis Schrag critiques Foucault specifically in regard to his analysis of educational systems and their power, stating Foucault writes about educational institutions "as generic entities performing uniform functions with generic children" without seeing "schools as sites of conflict and contestation, sites whose 'function' is related to their social location in a stratified society" (Francis Schrag, "Why Foucault Now," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 31, <http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/jcs/vol13>). Many argue Foucault is a poor historian, rendering the past unfamiliar in order to serve the needs of his analysis of the present, rendering history sometimes unrecognisable for the historian. At the same time, his theory provides a useful conceptual tool, marrying modes of historical and rhetorical analysis to identify and understand the function of discourse and the power of belief in both a primary culture and its alternative subcultures. Foucault acknowledged the relationship of his own historiography to rhetorical analysis in correspondence with John Searle (author of *Speech Acts* [Cambridge University Press, 1972]). See his letter of 15 May 1979 to Searle, cited in Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Foucault*, 46n.

86. Universities and the intellectuals within them are part of the process of accepting, affirming, and transmitting social truths. Power is exercised through the "subtle mechanisms" of what scholars call the creation and production of knowledge (Mourad, *Foucault*, 57 n. 21-22), which develop into the "disciplinary technologies" so critical to the modern university and which manifest themselves as "methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research, and apparatuses of control" (Cohen, interview.) Ralph Cohen describes Foucault's contribution to investigative methodology: "Foucault's utility is to make us aware that the surface explanations are really based on factors that have to do with economics, or morals, or political power -- features which have not been put in the forefront of values. . . . As a theorist [Foucault's] unique contribution is in his observation and demonstration that forms of knowledge are really knowledge control. What he is interested in is unveiling the forms of control and how they have been changed" (Cohen, interview).

87. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 216.

88. Mourad, *Foucault*, 60-61: "Foucault is especially concerned with the totalization of individual human beings by the manipulation and complicity of intellectuals in the production of knowledge for the sake of the social system."

89. Cohen, interview.

90. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 186-187.

Chapter Three

Normalised Discourse and Traditional Beliefs about U.S.

Undergraduate Study Abroad

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and contextualise the traditional beliefs that have coalesced into an episteme that marginalises study abroad in the American academy. As indicated earlier, this chapter will adapt Michel Foucault's concept of archaeological investigation to explore the fields of discourse in which these traditional beliefs were formulated, thereby revealing the foundations of the episteme and its normative power.

As Chapter Two outlined, these traditional beliefs are the statements within discourse formation that systematise to produce an episteme defining study abroad as academically weak and without significant functional,¹ especially professional preparation, purpose. This episteme excludes alternative discourses that do not conform to its expectations and renders policy discourse ineffective.

The review of policy discourse in Chapter One described clichés characterising study abroad as a leisurely experience, pursued by wealthy women, who undertook through the liberal arts to study European

culture in academically weak programmes, for the sake of acquiring a general and genial familiarity with a foreign culture. This discourse suggests the probable existence of a set of propositions about study abroad which devalue its worth:

- A. Study abroad follows the Grand Tour tradition, providing a Eurocentric educational experience for the sake of cultural acquisition.
- B. Study abroad is for women and thus not academically significant.
- C. Study abroad is for wealthy women from wealthy institutions.
- D. Study abroad offers a liberal arts programme of study, inapplicable to professional development.
- E. Study abroad programmes are academically weak, since education is better in the United States than anywhere abroad.

This chapter will explore these suggested propositions, in search of a field of discourse that might demonstrate they exist as traditional beliefs which form to support and confirm one another in the opinions of those who hold them, establishing together the 'fundamental practices'² that constitute the discourse about study abroad. It is

through these fundamental practices that the episteme endowing normative power emerges.

An exploration of the historical context that gave rise to each of these beliefs will be conducted, to understand the discursive associations which generated and continue to sustain the legitimacy of the episteme. Through this form of inquiry, this chapter will identify who is empowered by these traditional beliefs and the episteme they compose. Further, it will identify whose vision these beliefs exclude. This analysis establishes the framework for understanding the marginalisation of study abroad, exploring the alternative discourses of its sponsors and participants, and evaluating the impact of policy makers who advocate study abroad's growth.

Traditional Belief: Study Abroad is a European Grand Tour for Cultural Acquisition

One source of marginalisation of study abroad is its discursive association with the 'Grand Tour,' a term used to describe a form of youthful travel that evolved in the eighteenth century. The term is first discovered in use in 1748, in the writing of Richard Lassels, a Catholic priest and travelling tutor, whose travel experiences took place in the late seventeenth century.³ The English term derives from the French 'Great Circuit' and is

defined as "A tour of the principal cities and places of Europe, formerly supposed to be necessary to complete the education of young men of position."⁴

The tradition of the Grand Tour as an essential ingredient of higher education arose within British upper class culture during the first half of the eighteenth century. Defining characteristics of a Grand Tour were "a young British male patrician (member of the aristocracy or gentry), a tutor who accompanies his charge throughout the journey, a fixed itinerary that makes Rome its principal destination, and a lengthy period of absence (2-3 years)."⁵ While the Grand Tour was considered an educational and cultural experience, it included an element of leisure, even libertinism, as well: "In actual practice, of course, many of these young men merely frittered away their time in the fleshpots of Europe, agreeably cultivating each other's company."⁶ The Grand Tour was regarded as an essential part of a young man's coming of age, and each individual made of it what he might, some cultivating serious international understanding and others pursuing a simple pleasure jaunt.⁷

Americans quickly adopted the tradition of the Grand Tour as part of the educational imperative for their up-and-coming young men. In 1815 George Ticknor of Boston

confessed a lack of curiosity about travel in his own country but an urgent desire to travel in Europe. Like Ticknor, young American men traveled to Europe, particularly Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, as part of their culminating education.⁸ While the difficulty of trans-Atlantic travel kept the numbers down, "the wealthy elite of the new United States, who in the states of the mid-Atlantic and New England tended to be merchants, wanted the appropriate education for their children," and therefore did all they could to send them to Europe for a Grand Tour experience.⁹ The vision of Europe seeped into the mind of the emerging American literati, so that by 1940 Gertrude Stein believed that:

everybody, that is, everybody who writes, is interested in living inside themselves in order to tell what is inside themselves. That is why writers have to have two countries, the one where they belong and the one in which they really live. The second one is romantic, it is separate from themselves, it is not real but it is really there.

The English Victorians were like that about Italy, the early nineteenth-century Americans were like that about Spain, the middle nineteenth-century Americans were like that about England. My generation, the end of the nineteenth-century American generation, was like that about France.¹⁰

Europe, in the novels of Henry James, became "not so much a real place as a very commodious signifier" -- a signifier of culture and romance.¹¹

A number of the characteristics listed above still come into play when the term 'Grand Tour' is used among Americans today to describe a European travel experience for college-age youth. The term is used primarily as a derogatory description of international study, loosely defined as the travel experiences of the young and wealthy, intended to broaden their cultural horizons, but often suggesting leisurely, desultory, elitist, non-intellectual, and non-professional aims. These beliefs have been buffeted through political conflicts, as Americans' post-World War I valuation of European culture evolved into a post-World War II nationalistic suspicion of Eurocentrism. Despite changing cultural and political climates, this traditional belief continues to surface in the discourse on study abroad, even through the post-World War II period of diversification of study abroad destinations.

As Foucault argues, in the discursive construction of belief, historical accuracy is irrelevant.¹² Clearly there have been some wealthy American students who studied abroad; clearly there have been students who turned their study abroad enrollment into a leisurely and

non-productive experience. When those individual instances or associated incidents are generalised into a single notion about all study abroad experiences, the idea emerges as belief. Discourse produces a sense of what is true and validates what is defined as positive, so "that which transgresses its dictates tends to be defined not only as bad but as abnormal."¹³ Such a process has occurred in the evolution of the belief about the Grand Tour tradition and study abroad in the United States, affecting its contemporary manifestation.

Contemporary Manifestation of this Traditional Belief

From the colonial era through until World War II, when Americans studied abroad, they did so almost exclusively in Europe. "Europe beckons," wrote Briggs and Burn in 1985, "and it beckons to non-Europeans, particularly, perhaps, Americans."¹⁴

In the one history of U.S. undergraduate study abroad, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad: The Development of Study Abroad Programs by American Colleges and Universities*, John E. Bowman notes the cultural associations accruing to the European travel experiences undertaken by American youth. These early travelers included both earnest youth seeking professional training in Europe and wealthy young people sent to Europe for

general cultural edification, yet it was the image of the latter that imprinted a defining character on discourse to come. "Not all European study was professional study," writes Bowman. "Southern families sent their young men to England for both pre-university and university education. . . . Young American women who traveled to Europe went with their families or in the care of a 'maiden aunt.' By the late nineteenth century, professors at several institutions were conducting groups of young ladies on educational tours in Europe, visiting museums, cathedrals and the like."¹⁵

Two seminal studies, representing the predominating view of study abroad within the U.S. international higher education community, express the traditional belief that study abroad constitutes a Grand Tour experience: Goodwin and Nacht's 1988 work, commissioned and supported by the Institute of International Education, and Briggs and Burn's 1985 study, commissioned and supported by the European Institute of Education and Social Policy and the Institute of International Education.

These researchers clearly trace international study abroad programmes in the United States back to eighteenth-century roots: "The continental 'grand tour' with which young British gentry capped their formal education a century and more ago before entering public

life can be seen as an early prototype of experiential learning abroad."¹⁶ Goodwin and Nacht recognise as misleading the tendency to associate features of this historic precedent with modern study abroad: "A good deal of the skepticism of study abroad is based, we conclude, on a rather careless assumption that it is still simply the grand tour for the well-to-do ('fine for a rich private college, but not for us') rather than a valuable, or even vital, feature of higher education. This belief explains symbolic rules in one state university prohibiting use of public funds for foreign travel, or even for transoceanic phone calls!"¹⁷

Nevertheless, Goodwin and Nacht suggest, some students have been attracted to study abroad chiefly because they and their families perceive it will provide a Grand Tour experience. Historically, the point was "to acquaint the children of privileged families with an extended range of cultural experience. To become 'cultured' and citizens, it has long been believed, young people must have some acquaintance with and understanding of the arts, sights, and sounds of other peoples. It is difficult for this to be done entirely at home."¹⁸ While the authors note that students or their families supporting them no longer express this motive, this perception nonetheless remains, "lurking in the shadows,

especially at the more expensive liberal arts colleges and private universities."¹⁹ Imbedded in the "lurking" belief is the assumption that cultural acquisition is a trivial effort offering the rewards of pleasure and social advancement,²⁰ different from serious and purposeful intellectual study.

Briggs and Burn grant that the contemporary social context for study abroad is very different from that of the eighteenth century. Still, they consider that the 'motivations' behind the Grand Tour two centuries ago and study abroad today are much the same. "As far as [this] motivation for mobility, the quest for experience, is concerned, it still guides the travel of tens of thousands of students -- and teachers -- from very different backgrounds within the highly organised educational complexes of the twentieth century as much as it guided the travel of scores of young gentlemen during the golden years of the Grand Tour. It is the economic, political, social and institutional context that has changed, not the motivation itself."²¹

Other contemporary discourse manifests this belief that study abroad has been an undirected cultural exploration, not an education providing global skills. Archer Brown, the Deputy Executive Director of NAFSA: The Association of International Educators, quotes a written

report of two Thai students from the University of Minnesota, saying that "whereas the foreign student comes to the United States in fulfillment of a purpose, the United States student goes abroad in search of one."²² In an oral history video interview with the late Lily von Klemperer, a leader in study abroad development, Butler College International Programs Officer Tom Roberts specifically labeled both pre- and post-World War II study programmes as Grand Tour experiences.²³ American students' reasons for study abroad are often presumed to be personal and are described as frivolous compared to those of students from other nations where study abroad is valued and supported: "United States study abroad has traditionally focused on language and culture, rather than on the acquisition of specific knowledge in other fields."²⁴

Reports within the higher education community on the status of U.S. undergraduate study abroad, including those calling for change, have also criticised study abroad as a Grand Tour experience. Authors of *In the International Interest*,²⁵ the report of the International 50, an association of private liberal arts colleges committed to international education, wrote: "Many of the early programs, both at International 50 colleges and elsewhere, were structured 'like finishing schools'

focusing on the 'inculcation of cultural attitudes appropriate for a particular class and station.'"²⁶

In CIEE's 1988 report, *Educating for Global Competence: The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange*, the perception that study abroad has been a Grand Tour for cultural acquisition is discernible: "Students who study abroad are from a narrow spectrum of the population. They are predominantly white females from highly educated professional families, majoring in the social sciences or the humanities. . . . Many have had earlier overseas travel or international experience."²⁷ The CIEE report makes specific reference to the 'grand tour,' part of the education of a small segment of young Americans in the past, and the more recent 'Junior Year Abroad,' "focused on the European cultural heritage," saying that these traditions were most applicable to liberal arts and humanities students but that "now global competence for our citizens requires us to expand study abroad into other areas."²⁸ If such a report must argue a move away from the traditional belief, then it also shows the existence and influence of that traditional belief.

In his 1989 report for the American Council on Education, author Richard Lambert recognises the opinion that study abroad is frivolous travel, made for personal

cultural experience rather than serious academic accomplishments. "Normally, the obstacle to a student's staying abroad longer is the inhibiting attitudes and regulations of the home campus where study abroad is seen as a diversionary frill, interrupting the flow of the real educational process that is presumed to take place on campus."²⁹

These influential analyses of U.S. study abroad echo one another: U.S. study abroad is and has been regarded as a Grand Tour experience, pursued by students for personal cultural enrichment, considered insignificant, rather than for any serious academic or professional purposes. In these examples of discourse, the concept of cultural acquisition is often associated with leisure, a personal experience designed not to gain purposeful knowledge so much as social standing and private pleasure.

Foucault argues that everyone in a community is formed through its discourse. Study abroad participants, too, can be constrained by visions endowed by beliefs and the resulting episteme. When women who had participated in Sweet Briar Junior Year Abroad programmes were asked to identify (for the entire group, not for themselves individually) "the primary reason for WOMEN participating in study abroad," forty-five percent of answers included

"their cultural interests."³⁰ Participants saw others, if not themselves, to be pursuing cultural interests -- an example of the power of the belief to define the experience they imagined others to be having:

Table 3.1

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 18
Identify the Primary Reason for Women Participating in Study Abroad

If you are a woman who participated in study abroad, do you see the primary reason for WOMEN participating in study abroad as:

	<u>Women</u>	
a	45%	a) their cultural interests?
b	34%	b) their desire to grow independently?
c	19%	c) their career interests?
d	3%	d) their desire to find a more supportive educational environment than they experienced at home?

	a	b	c	d
Female	141	106	60	8

*Respondents can choose more than one answer.

*Crosstab indicates those who agreed with (a - d).

The Sweet Briar alumni survey was constructed for this thesis because this programme represents the longest operating Junior Year Abroad for U.S. undergraduate students. The programme originated as the University of Delaware study programme in 1923, was transferred to Sweet Briar College after World War II, and continues to exist to the present day as a coeducational programme in Paris.³¹

As stated in Chapter One, this thesis is a discourse analysis conducted by adapting Michel Foucault's methodology for inquiry. The fieldwork conducted for this thesis was undertaken to further illustrate the field of discourse about study abroad. Since it does not carry the burden of evidence in this adaptation of Foucault as the method of analysis, a full description of the Sweet Briar inquiry appears in the endnotes. See endnote 31, for example, which contains information on the unusual availability of historical materials documenting the development of this programme and the ways in which it typifies the development of American study abroad in general.

In the Sweet Briar survey, both men and women were asked, "Why do you think it has been more frequently undergraduate women rather than men from the United States who have studied abroad?" The largest proportion of both male and female respondents, with only a slightly higher percentage of male, chose as their answer: "Women more frequently than men are interested in understanding and supporting art and culture." The second most frequent answer to this question, however, differed between male and female respondents. More male participants believed that "Men need to stay in the U.S. and focus on job training in their college education";

more female participants, however, believed that "Women feel overseas living and study is an important opportunity for self-development and independence which men can usually attain within their U.S. environment." Even when the motivation is identified as 'self-development and independence,' study abroad is sometimes perceived as a personally enriching experience more than an academic or professional one.³²

Table 3.2

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 10
Why More Women than Men?

Question #10

Why do you think it has been more frequently undergraduate women rather than men from the United States who have studied abroad?

	Men	Women	
a	25%	19%	a) Men need to stay in the U.S. and focus on job training in their college education.
b	38%	35%	b) Women more frequently than men are interested in understanding and supporting art and culture
c	7%	13%	c) Women are more capable of learning foreign languages.
d	18%	23%	d) Women feel overseas living and study is an important opportunity for self-development
e	13%	10%	and independence which men can usually attain within their U.S. environment.
			e) Women have fewer opportunities for experimentation and growth than men on the U.S. campus.

	a	b	c	d	e
Male	18	27	5	13	9
Female	68	127	48	81	35

*Respondents can choose more than one answer.

*Crosstab indicates those respondents that agreed with the statement.

Further, answering Question 13 in the survey (see Appendix A, Table 3.3), which asked their reasons for going abroad, 48 percent of the male answers and 45 percent of the female answers indicated that they went abroad to broaden their cultural horizons. These

reported or perceived motives among students reflect the power of traditional belief to constitute the nature of an activity so strongly as to colour the lens through which participants themselves view or interpret the experience. (See Appendix A, Table 3.4, Darden Survey: Reasons for Study Abroad.)

Skepticism over the value of Europe as a study site continues to be expressed. Richard D. Lambert, Director of the National Foreign Language Center, noted the continuing focus on Europe for foreign study. Citing that in the 1980s, 79 percent of students going abroad still went to England and Western Europe, Lambert questioned the value of such a focus: "In a world in which the non-European world is playing a greater and greater role in global affairs, our continued fixation on Western Europe is striking."³³ The editors of the first edition of *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators* expressed similar concern. Decrying the lack of diversity, Hoffa, Pearson, and Slind regret that of students going abroad, "75 percent of them are studying in a few Western European countries."³⁴ Writers urging that study abroad programmes range into South America, Asia, Australasia, and the Middle East imply that study abroad in Europe is not the best experience for students to have.

Some scholars believe this European focus reflects persistent patterns in foreign language study among U.S. students. The languages under study "are overwhelmingly concentrated in a few Western European languages," reported Lambert in 1990, and slightly over fifty percent of all U.S. high school and college students study Spanish, not so much because of the growing non-European Hispanic population in the United States but rather because students believe that among the three leading languages offered (French, German, and Spanish), Spanish is the easiest to learn.³⁵

Consistent with the Lambert study, recent data confirm that French remains the next most popular language choice among high school and college students: "Nearly 1 out of every 4 American students who learn a foreign language in middle school and high school still chooses French, a language spoken fluently by only about 1 out of every 50 people on the planet," wrote Jacques Steinberg in 1998. "By contrast, 1 percent of American teenagers study Chinese or Japanese, which combined are spoken by 20 percent of the world's people."³⁶ According to Richard Brecht, Director of the National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages, the reason French is so frequently chosen is not because of its utility but

because the Western European languages "are just so deeply embedded in our cultural traditions."³⁷

Discourse within the higher education community has manifested an increasing interest in diversified locations, calling for a change from the prevailing tradition of Eurocentrism. The authors of *Educating for Global Competence* argue that to ensure global competence, study abroad should expand its focus,³⁸ and more specifically that "Study abroad in developing countries and countries outside the traditional Anglo-European settings should be a matter of high priority."³⁹ The Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad describes the ongoing European focus of United States study abroad and recommends that increased diversity in locations be a priority in American undergraduate study abroad.⁴⁰

The recently established and federally funded National Security Education Program Scholarship Fund supports undergraduate and graduate study in non-Western European locations worldwide, reflecting the commitment of the U.S. government to develop new geographical regions where students can study.⁴¹ A 1995 CIEE baseline survey of international education administrators further describes increasing interest in world regions in addition to Western Europe. (See Appendix A, Table 3.5,

CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 13: Areas of Interest for Programme Development. This researcher aided in the construction of the survey. Its findings, representative of the higher education community, form part of the statistical evidence of this thesis. As stated in Chapter One, a full description of this project and its representative nature will be found in the endnotes.⁴²

While the higher education community and the federal government have expressed clear desires to encourage study abroad in alternative world sites, Europe still predominates in U.S. study abroad. In its mid-decade survey for the 1990s, IIE identified that 64.8 percent of all U.S. students studying abroad went to Europe. The remaining percentage represents all students studying abroad in all other locations.⁴³

The extent to which reports have called attention to the European location for study abroad reflects how much this characteristic forms a part of the defining discourse about U.S. study abroad. This persistent concern expressed about European locations can itself reinforce the perception that study abroad is a European Grand Tour.

Discourse Formation

Foucault's archaeological method directs inquiry into the discourse field from which belief emerged to contextualise its development and normative power. The historical context in which discourse formed about U.S. study abroad established this association between foreign programmes and the devaluing conception of the European Grand Tour with its Eurocentric cultural study.

Study abroad is a documented Western European educational practice since the Middle Ages, and perceptions of it have not always been flattering. In *The Rise of Universities*, Charles Homer Haskins noted students moving from one western European country to another to study and revealed ancient suspicions over the value of such movements: "Nigel 'Wireker' satirises the English students at Paris in the person of an ass, Brunellus -- 'Daun Burnell' in Chaucer -- who studies there seven years without learning a word, braying at the end as at the beginning of his course, and leaving at last with the resolve to become a monk or a bishop."⁴⁴ Even the eighteenth-century European tradition of the Grand Tour, adopted by up-and-coming Americans, carried the associations with leisurely or desultory travel.

Nonetheless, study experiences in other countries have for centuries played an important part in European higher education, adopted as well by students in the earliest years of American higher education, throughout the colonial and post-colonial years. Early American educators and administrators looked to Europe, and particularly to Germany, for models as they shaped all their institutions of higher learning.⁴⁵ "Looking at Europe, they saw what they needed."⁴⁶

Early study abroad in the United States was a critical avenue for professional training for young men. Men training for the ministry, for medicine, and for other professions typically traveled to Great Britain, Germany, France, and Austria to study.⁴⁷ Valued as a pre-professional commodity, study abroad was sometimes even necessary for men who wished to assume leadership in early American culture, because of the lack of strong professional training opportunities within American institutions in those years.

The interest in study abroad was manifest in the respect Americans held for the German university, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. American scholars particularly appreciated the opportunity to go to Germany to study the sciences in a way that was perceived to be unavailable in the United

States.⁴⁸ Indeed, from the beginning of the eighteenth century until 1914, it is estimated that approximately ten thousand American students studied in Germany alone.⁴⁹ According to Veysey, the peak enrollment year was 1895-96, with 517 American students enrolled in German institutions.⁵⁰ Carol Gruber counts almost nine thousand Americans studying abroad between 1820 and 1920,⁵¹ drawn by intellectual concerns: "The prestige of the German doctorate was very high, and the degree was relatively easy to acquire. Americans were drawn by the intellectual vitality of nineteenth-century German university scholarship and by the reputation of individual scholars."⁵² By the end of the nineteenth century, a small proportion of those seeking professional training and/or graduate study abroad were women, for whom graduate education was frequently unavailable in the United States.⁵³ Before World War I, however, study abroad for Americans remained predominantly a male experience, conducted to gain entry into the professional world.

Late in the nineteenth century, regard for German universities began to decline and the concomitant opinion developed that American universities were providing adequate, perhaps even better, educations.⁵⁴ Indeed, by the end of that century, Americans perceived their own

institutions of higher education as better than many in Europe.

Fewer men went overseas to study, preferring professional training at home. The era of male graduate and professional study abroad was at an end in United States history.⁵⁵ Thomas Jefferson had lamented prophetically, one century earlier, that young men traveling overseas came to no good -- a regret that led him to found the University of Virginia, the United States' first full-fledged state university, so that young American men could study at home. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Jefferson's vision had materialised, and America's "young men no longer regarded study in Europe as the preferred professional training."⁵⁶

American men turned to domestic institutions for professional training, and education became accessible to men from across the socioeconomic strata.⁵⁷ At that juncture, wealthier American women carried forward the genteel custom of the Grand Tour. They began to travel in more organised institutional ways. Earlier in the century, young women might have traveled to Europe with families or chaperones, but by the end of the nineteenth century, more were traveling abroad in groups conducted by their professors, experiencing educational tours

designed to allow them to visit Europe and pursue cultural interests.⁵⁸

Solomon argues that travel overseas for women in the U.S. was early on linked to the idea of cultural acquisition and was indeed supported by a wealthy socioeconomic group that disdained formal education for its daughters: "The established eastern elites -- Boston Brahmins, Philadelphia Main Liners, and Hudson Valley New Yorkers -- preferred to educate daughters privately at home, in boarding school, and through travel abroad." Travel abroad for these wealthy young women took on a distinctive character, due to their socioeconomic status. "New rich millionaires obsessed with making good marriages for their daughters imitated the patterns of the older families, dismissing college as preparation for women who had no option but to be schoolteachers. Both sets of families prepared daughters for a life of leisure, not work."⁵⁹

By the onset of World War I, the picture of study abroad in the United States had shifted. Young men no longer went abroad in great numbers, reflecting their belief that their need for professional training was satisfied at the American university. Those who continued to study abroad were the male children of wealthy Americans, able to afford to follow the Grand

Tour tradition, or female students, accompanying professors abroad to explore western European culture. In this historical context at the start of the first World War, the twentieth-century discursive associations about U.S. study abroad began to form.

After World War I, the structure of U.S. study abroad changed radically.⁶⁰ Many young men had seen Europe because of military service during the war. Even after the war ended, many American troops remained in France. As troops demobilised, they had time on their hands. French institutions organised special programmes to teach French language and culture, and the 'Cours de Civilisation' emerged.

The Sorbonne established a model of special programmes for foreign students seeking to study about and within another country.⁶¹ The programme allowed study abroad without direct enrollment and integration into the foreign institution. It offered an opportunity for students who might not otherwise gain access to a European university (still the case in the 1920s for many women) or who did not seek to complete a degree abroad. It allowed students to study even without foreign language fluency, since courses were specially taught to non-native speakers. Finally, it accommodated students from educational systems different from those of the host

country. In other words, students studying abroad did not have to be at the same academic level or share the same background or skills as their host-country peers.

Without a traditional European or American academic structure, without full integration into degree-granting activities, and without a clear place in an academic sequence, the Sorbonne model contributed to suspicion within the American higher education community. It was perceived as a programme designed not to capitalise on the strengths and depths of European education but rather to ease the discomforts of Americans in a foreign culture.

Nonetheless, for many, the Sorbonne model created a new and unique opportunity for American undergraduates.⁶² The 'Cours de Civilisation' established a new academic model for students seeking foreign study experience, soon institutionalised as the 'Junior Year Abroad.'⁶³ It was adapted to the academic training and language level of an American college undergraduate. Offered by an accredited academic institution, it was designed to award degree credit within the American home institution, not the foreign host institution.⁶⁴ It offered an innovative outlet for some members of the higher education community, while it was criticised by others as a frivolous way to travel abroad. The Sorbonne model marks

the inauguration of what this thesis labels the 'modern' study abroad programmes.

In 1923, the first study abroad programme modeled on the Sorbonne structure was established at Delaware College (later the University of Delaware). Professor Raymond Kirkbride, who had returned from military service in France with the idea that American students could study abroad in an organised fashion, founded it. The University of Delaware programme, designed to send students to Paris, initially enrolled eight students, all men, although the programme was open to women as well. Within two years, however, the majority of programme participants were women, a gender mix that remained every year thereafter. (See Appendix F, University of Delaware Foreign Study Groups, 1923 and 1933, for photographs illustrating the first class, with its all-male membership, and the class ten years later, clearly dominated by women participants.) It was this programme, referred to earlier in this chapter, that transferred to Sweet Briar College in 1947.⁶⁵ (See Appendix A, Table 3.6, University of Delaware Foreign Study Plan, Paris Programme Gender Analysis, 1923-24 to 1939-40.)

In that early era, a small number of other institutions established this model for their study abroad programmes as well. These programmes were all

established by women's colleges, which meant that, at least initially, enrollment was limited to female students.⁶⁶ Marymount College in New York established a programme in Paris in 1924. Smith College established a programme in Paris in 1925. In the same year, Rosary College established a programme in Fribourg, Switzerland. Before World War II began, Marymount, Smith, and Delaware had established programmes in other western European countries as well.

Smith College helped consolidate the tradition, initiated in the Sorbonne programme, of study abroad as a yearlong experience during the third undergraduate year, a configuration that continues to influence U.S. study abroad programmes today. "Smith College pioneered the Junior Year Abroad concept, sending third year undergraduates to study in Paris for an academic year, primarily to strengthen their foreign language proficiency and for cultural immersion," writes Barbara Burn. Once again, with this practice cultural values were discursively associated with the study abroad experience, building traditional beliefs: "The several junior year programs launched by women's colleges in the 1920's gave to study abroad an image which has clung over the decades, namely that it is primarily a private college phenomenon, is predominantly for women and in

humanities fields, and tends to be expensive,"⁶⁷ constituting doubt about the utility and worth of liberal education pursued in overseas settings.

Rosary College, a Catholic women's college located in River Forest, Illinois, began its study abroad programme in 1925. Rosary College women resided and were taught at the Institut des Hautes Études in Fribourg, Switzerland, studying French, literature, religion, philosophy, history, and English. The programme was suspended during World War II but revived afterward, through promotional efforts exemplified by a bulletin published by the college in 1947.

The Rosary College bulletin promoted the programme in a variety of ways, including offering it as "a way to become better acquainted with Europeans and Old World culture" and to improve foreign language skills. "The aspect of the Foreign Study Plan that perhaps excites the most interest among young women & their parents is the opportunity offered for travel abroad," the bulletin reads.⁶⁸ Furthermore, it identifies as an equally central mission of the programme furthering women's professional careers as teachers.

All of these goals were expressed clearly in the bulletin. Travel opportunities and serious academic and professional benefits were described together. The use

of the Grand Tour idiom within the discourse articulated with suspicions about the quality and value of study abroad. Some of the bulletin's language matched emergent traditional beliefs and maintained the power of the higher education hierarchy. Following Foucault's logic that beliefs constrain perception,⁶⁹ that language was heard and went on to contribute toward the formation of the episteme about study abroad.

Early programmes were established in Western Europe.⁷⁰ (See endnote 64 for information about a brief and unsustained effort in Mexico.) This European focus dominated the discourse about study abroad. The majority of programmes were initially located in France, and that pattern held until well after World War II. "America was very interested in Europe in the 1920s," says Bowman,⁷¹ noting that this early European focus reflected the "dominant role which European art and literature plays in American culture and in the curriculum of American universities."

Subsequent shifts in programme locations reflected geopolitical events. Barbara Burn calls the Fulbright plan, the post-World War II international exchange initiative, the equivalent of the Marshall Plan in education, broadening American educational vision.⁷² In the 1960s the Peace Corps brought fuller awareness of

developing nations and their issues into the American academic community.⁷³ U.S. military training brought men and women into broader contact with diverse foreign languages, expanding American higher education contacts with the Third World.⁷⁴

Since World War II, the trend has been to diversify destinations for U.S. study abroad. Students now pursue programmes in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Oceania. Thirty-five percent of students go abroad to non-Western European locations.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the figures show that even in the last decade -- despite emphasis on diversifying study abroad and despite, in the last decade, an 18 percent decline in registration in European programmes⁷⁶ -- the substantial majority of students still go to Europe. While the numbers of participants and diversified destinations keep growing, the trend has not eroded the predominantly European focus of study abroad.

The European location for U.S. study abroad remains as it originated in the nineteenth century when educators looked to Europe as the parent culture. The two world wars in the twentieth century have produced discourse questioning the value of that tradition. The United States gained ascendancy among world powers, sending its sons and daughters to Asian and African as well as

European theatres of war. Prevailing educational opinions regarded Europe less and less as the repository of educational wisdom. The United States' education system granted itself world ascendancy at the same time that Americans became more interested in non-European traditions.⁷⁷ The growing disdain for European institutions associated with suspicions about the Sorbonne model and with the conviction that U.S. education had become superior to that available abroad. The idea that study in Europe, heir to the Grand Tour tradition, was pursued for personal rewards was reinforced.

Normative power reinforces its vision in the disciplinary and social community in which it operates.⁷⁸ Study abroad, defined by the American academy in its early years as a European Grand Tour for Eurocentric cultural acquisition, stood as an aberration from the male norms of higher education, thus the experience of study abroad and those who participated became marginalised. Through the power of discourse and the beliefs it produces, this conception has continued. The alternative discourses of sponsors and participants, including female participants, have gone unheard. The constitution of the traditional belief that U.S. undergraduate study abroad is a Grand Tour of Europe for

the sake of trivial cultural enrichment is a core component of the episteme dismissing study abroad as academically and functionally irrelevant.

Traditional Belief: Since Study Abroad is a Female Activity, It is not Academically Significant

Another component in the formation of this episteme is the role women have played in study abroad development. More women than men have chosen to study abroad in almost every year since institutionalised undergraduate credit-bearing programmes were first offered to American students in 1923. In their earliest years, study abroad programmes were more frequently supported by women's than by coeducational colleges, and study abroad has drawn more female students, whether they attend all-female or coeducational institutions.

Discourse has identified the predominance of female students as a definitive feature of this educational activity. Discourse 'normalises' that which it validates⁷⁹ and devalues that which is aberrant. This section will show how attitudes about women's roles in society and beliefs about the purposes for their education linked to developing conceptions about study abroad, contributing to its marginalisation.

Contemporary Manifestation of this Traditional Belief

The most recent data available in study abroad enrollment indicate that 65 percent of all participants are female -- a proportion, this thesis will show, that has held relatively constant from the earliest years of American study abroad activity.⁸⁰ A review of contemporary discourse confirms that this persistent demographic is perceived to be a significant and defining trait of U.S. study abroad.

At the 41st Annual Conference of the Council of International Educational Exchange, November 1988, Cannes, France, Richard D. Lambert, then Director of the National Foreign Language Center at the Johns Hopkins University,⁸¹ spoke about the current status of American study abroad. At the conference, his discourse reflected the defining characteristics associated with study abroad: "The prototypical person most likely to go abroad is a white, female, middle-class, full-time student majoring in foreign languages, in history, or in social sciences, and registered at a liberal arts college."⁸²

Lambert's perception is grounded in a long history of female predominance among study abroad enrollees. Only in the years just after World War II did the number of men even approach the number of women involved in the Delaware/Sweet Briar programme, for example (see Appendix

A, Table 3.7, Summary of Junior Year in France Groups, 1948-49 to 1992-93). The strength of males in the 1948-49 programme reflects the first impact of the GI Bill⁸³ (as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 was called popularly), which supported veterans after World War II and encouraged them to attend school rather than flood the job market and create unemployment.⁸⁴ From 1949 on, however, women consistently outnumbered men. Participant records show a ratio of almost three female to one male participant in the U.S.'s oldest coeducational programme since after World War II.

In her study analysing 5,600 U.S. purchasers of the international student identity card, Jolene Koester concluded that "international study, travel, and work abroad is an educational experience populated by women," while the "causes and consequences of this uneven interest" she found to be "purely speculative."⁸⁵ Council on International Educational Exchange data confirm this predominance as well. For this thesis, an analysis was done of all Council's extant study abroad enrollment records, with gender identified since computerised enrollment record keeping began, in 1991,⁸⁶ and with a first-name analysis of records before that, to identify gender when possible. This analysis resulted in a count of 5,161 female participants and 2,359 male participants

from 1973 through 1992, or 68.5 percent female and 31.2 male, with the balance unidentifiable by gender (see Appendix A, Table 3.8, CIEE Programmes: Enrollment and Gender History).

Specific programmes mirror this gender proportion. Under the direction of Harlan Cleveland, Dean of the Maxwell School, Syracuse University -- for over thirty years a leader in international education⁸⁷ -- developed a strong study abroad programme, with Cleveland arguing that "study abroad should be a 'live option' for any undergraduate student."⁸⁸ In material prepared for this study, Lore Heath, Deputy Director of those programmes, assessed the male-female ratio of students in Syracuse programmes from 1985 through 1993, finding the female-to-male ratio to be consistently three-to-one or higher.⁸⁹

A study of participants in the Sweet Briar/University of Delaware programme from 1948-49 through 1992-93 also confirms a consistent ratio of two to three females for every male participant (see Table 3.7, cited earlier). A 1959 study of the programme showed that enrollments were one-third male and two-thirds female from the start through the spring of 1955.⁹⁰ Even given the stronger male enrollment during 1948-49, during the period when the GI Bill supported a large male

student population, female participants still predominated in this study abroad programme.⁹¹

The representative sources (described fully in the endnotes as each has been introduced in this study) demonstrate that from the inception of undergraduate study abroad programmes in the United States to the present day, between two-thirds and three-quarters of participants were female in every programme whose records we can currently study.

Table 3.9

Gender Enrollments by Percentage in Representative U.S. Study Abroad, 1923-97

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



*IIE survey methodology confirms this ratio from 1980 to 1999 on all reported U.S. study abroad programmes.

The most recent IIE data (unpublished data compiled for the 1999-2000 annual edition) continue to demonstrate a

consistently high proportion of women choosing study abroad.⁹² This consistent ratio has contributed to the discursive formation of the traditional belief that study abroad, as a predominantly female pursuit, is not significant academically.

Many academics have assumed not only that more women choose to study abroad but also that women's search for education is not as serious as that of men. These associated beliefs have had an impact on the episteme about U.S. study abroad, as Briggs and Burn point out: "That more women than men study abroad as undergraduates and more in humanities than in professional fields may exacerbate the perception that undergraduate study abroad lacks in seriousness of purpose."⁹³

Educators who hold this view have formed a link between the predominance of women as participants in U.S. study abroad and the presumption that a female study abroad experience is pursued for cultural enrichment. Bowman, for instance, states: "The Junior Year Abroad programs prior to World War II were, with one exception, operated by women's colleges and, at first, enrollment was limited to women. They were, *thus*, in part, a transformation of the European tour for young women into an academic experience" [emphasis added].⁹⁴ Women were assigned the role as "guardians of the culture"⁹⁵ while

men had to earn their livings, support their families, and find professionally relevant educational experiences.

Explaining why more women than men from the United States study abroad, Stephen Cooper and Mary Anne Grant conjecture that "the imbalance reflects American cultural values. Societal and parental expectations in the United States have traditionally inculcated young men to pursue 'serious' career-oriented degrees while young women are encouraged to 'cultivate' themselves and/or prepare for marriage. Given the prevalence of such sexism, and the notion that a study abroad experience is somehow frivolous, we can see why more women than men have traditionally studied abroad."⁹⁶

In another forum representative of the pervasive academic view, William Hoffa initiated Internet discussions on SECUSS-L, the national study abroad advisers list-serve operated by NAFSA: Association of International Educators. By raising the question as to why more women than men continue to go abroad to study, Hoffa elicited a flurry of responses which help to reveal current opinion in the American academy. Asking why more women than men go abroad, Hoffa began, "Since the number of male undergraduate students, generally speaking, is roughly equal to the number of female students, there must be some reasons for these differences. What are

they?" Hoffa tried to fend off the most stereotypical of responses by including, with his original query, the following statement:

One view commonly put forth is that men have tended to major in academic areas (science, business, pre-law, etc.) less prominently featured in study abroad programs. Another is that male students have feared that their professional pursuits would be jeopardized if a period of ("dilettantish," "frivolous") study abroad was seen on their academic record -- whereas, the argument went, women students, not pursuing such careers, were "freer" to "cultivate" themselves through a foreign sojourn. Given recent expansions of program options across the curriculum, plus the nominal "liberation" of both men and women from such gender politics, neither of these explanations would seem to have much credence, these days.⁹⁷

Hoffa posed his general question in three parts:

THREE QUESTIONS FOR A SECUSS-L FORUM
DISCUSSION:

- 1) What then accounts for the fact that more than 6 out of every 10 students studying abroad continue to be women?
- 2) Since there are bound to be exceptions, institution to institution, program to program, location to location, what are these exceptions and can we learn anything from them?
- 3) Are there advising strategies or institutional policies which can make a difference? If so, what are they?⁹⁸

Hoffa's statement and questions reiterate the importance of female dominance as a defining element within the higher education community's episteme of study abroad. He echoes prevailing explanations for past statistical consistencies and reflects the continuing debate about study abroad's academic significance, given that it has attracted primarily women.

Ironically, his question elicited responses reporting or reflecting the beliefs he had disclaimed. For example, George Boyd at Trinity University reported that an "esteemed colleague at a major study abroad institution" had "several times told me of her problem with finding an 'undemanding' London program that won't crimp travel, shopping, and socializing for her sorority women who go abroad in big groups."⁹⁹

Cheryl L. Darrup, Marketing Director with the North American Institute for Study Abroad, offered the opinion that male students themselves, as well as their advisers, had fallen into the trap of gender-stereotyping, disregarding study abroad as an educational option because they feared that "their professional pursuits would be jeopardized if a period of ('dilettantish,' 'frivolous') study abroad was seen on their academic record."¹⁰⁰

Those very presumptions -- that male students regard study abroad and the professional aspect of their education to be mutually exclusive -- were expressed on-line by Cameron Beatty:

We might also consider the possibility that men are less likely to do study abroad because in general they feel they have to focus on their careers as a goal for the immediate future and haven't been convinced that the contribution made by a study abroad experience would justify the time and expense required. Note that I'm NOT saying that women don't have career goals (heaven forefend), but cultural expectations vis-à-vis careers and their importance are somewhat different for men than they are for women. Looked at from that perspective, it could be claimed that women are more likely to participate in a study abroad program because they are in general LESS developed emotionally, or intellectually, or whatever one calls it, than college-age men in general seem to be.¹⁰¹

Not all respondents seemed, like this one, to accept the traditional beliefs regarding the gender-specific appropriateness of U.S. study abroad. For example, Marvin Slind bemoaned the stereotyping voiced in answer to Hoffa's question:

What concerns me even more, however, is the basic nature of those theories: gender-based stereotypes. For example: on the one hand, we learn that males are less mature or less socially developed. On the other, they have stereotypically been more directed toward

career or "real-life" issues. I think that while both extremes may contain some accuracies, but [sic] they also are dangerously broad.

I shudder to think of the wave of hostile reactions that would have descended upon anyone who made similar gender-based stereotypes about female students. A wide range of unpleasant -- and inaccurate -- examples comes to mind. For example, on a few occasions, I have had to take issue with people who suggested that women study abroad when men don't, because men have to work to pay for their own educations, while women have their parents pay for such frills as cute little red cars and study abroad programs.¹⁰²

Yet, despite remarks like Slind's, the discourse evoked by Hoffa's questions reflected that beliefs associating gender with academic quality continue to frame judgment, including that of some faculty who advise students going abroad.

There are indications that students do hear gender-related comments about their study abroad interests. Although hard evidence is not available, suggestive indicators emerge among respondents in the Sweet Briar report. Eight percent of the women responding reported that faculty perceived them to have no career goals, contrary to their own reality (see Appendix A, Table 3.10, Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 20: Did you encounter beliefs which impeded your study abroad pursuits?). No men reported having had this experience.

The predominance of women participants in modern credit-bearing study abroad programmes has been deemed a defining trait within the higher education community. Their presence has resulted in the attachment of value judgments about women's educational goals to judgments about their participation in study abroad. These perceptions lead academics to question the seriousness and functional significance of overseas education.

Discourse Formation

The discourse field that produced negative judgments about female participants has roots in the broader history of American higher education. Some form of what could be considered higher education for women began in the United States at the end of the eighteenth century. Following the American Revolution, the United States was developing a new identity based on a republican ideal. The purposes for male education included the creation of an educated male citizenry capable of making responsible electoral decisions. Women did not vote or take part in the democratic process, nor was there concern at the time that they should. As wives and mothers -- but not as voting citizens -- women exerted influence on their sons, the republic's future decision makers: "Republican wives and mothers gained a special role in the creation of an

informed citizenry. Though not citizens themselves, they would train their young male offspring for citizenship. . . . thus Republican motherhood furnished a utilitarian motive for educating women."¹⁰³ Additionally, because men might be away from home for lengthy periods of time, the education of the children might devolve upon the woman -- another reason for providing women some education of their own.¹⁰⁴

Institutions of higher education for American women developed in the early nineteenth century. Founded to help women develop independent intellectual skills, they were intended not to controvert so much as to enhance their roles as spouses and helpmates.¹⁰⁵ The trustees of Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Virginia, writing in 1891, expressed this sentiment in establishing "a college . . . where the dignity and strength of fully-developed faculties and the charm of the highest literary culture may be acquired by our daughters without loss to woman's crowning glory -- her gentleness and grace."¹⁰⁶

At first, higher education attracted less wealthy women who sought socioeconomic advancement through education. The 'calico girl' -- "the serious, hardworking daughter of the middle class preparing to teach . . . formed the backbone of the early classes,"¹⁰⁷ while women from wealthy families had other options

available. By the end of the nineteenth century, though, colleges were increasingly attracting women from all socioeconomic classes.

Additionally, in the latter nineteenth century, the curriculum changed. Newly established liberal education programmes expanded the opportunities to pursue humanistic studies and the social sciences. These changes sparked further debate about the purpose of education for women. Men could study the new liberal arts, the new humanistic disciplines, and the new social sciences and still advance toward a professional future, but "Liberal culture for women was held up as learning for its own sake, detached from professional motives"¹⁰⁸.

Indeed, leaders of education as prominent as Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University at the end of the nineteenth century, were suspicious of the purpose of educating women. Eliot "scandalized academic women . . . by a speech at Wellesley suggesting that the great traditions of learning from the time of the Egyptians were the creation by and for men and served as no guide in educating women."¹⁰⁹

Eliot's observations reflected the public devaluation of higher education opportunities for women, an attitude that was reinforced by the increasing belief that college women were motivated by the 'pursuit of

happiness,' not professional or occupational advancement, motives articulated by college women between 1860 and 1890.¹¹⁰ While serious professional intentions were articulated by those three earliest generations of U.S. college women, Solomon notes, even then others did not fully recognise or respect their intentions.¹¹¹

With the emergence of the flapper after World War I, during the 1920s, the perception continued to evolve that women attended college in pursuit of happiness. The earlier image of the college woman as serious of purpose, destined to achieve academically and then to serve, gave way to the image of the fun-loving woman pursuing higher education for frivolous reasons.¹¹² Young women still learned that the educated had an obligation to society, but they were often reluctant to make commitments to future activities. They behaved "as if college were a four-year moratorium from real life."¹¹³

Expression among college women of serious motives for pursuing education re-emerged in the 1930s Depression era,¹¹⁴ but it was in the exuberant period just after World War I that the idea of the Junior Year Abroad was born. As Foucault argues, chance circumstance can attach to an event or action, systematising into defining power. Just such a process occurred in the founding of the Junior Year Abroad programmes. College women of the

1920s, no matter what their own conceptions, were believed by those in power to be more concerned about intensifying their roles as cultural guardians, a secondary and supportive role, while college men developed professional acumen and leadership skills.¹¹⁵ These distinctions arose from the tradition that even serious women students were to be educated as *handmaidens*, not as *leaders* -- a tradition that disenfranchised women and their education just as it empowered men and theirs. Through discursive association, study abroad earned a reputation as a frivolous experience for women, providing marginalised or trivialised cultural enrichment, not serious academic or professional advancement.

Value judgments did and still do adhere to study abroad as a result of the predominance of females among its participants. Modern study abroad programmes came into being during the early 1920s, at a time when many leaders in higher education believed that women did not even belong in college. Women who were in college were often perceived to be there, at best, as mainstays of the culture and, at worst, solely for their own pleasure.

Despite this milieu, women did enroll in college and did elect to study abroad. No matter what their excluded discourse of personal motivation might have expressed,

predominant discourse within the academic community perpetuated the notion that they attended school for personal enjoyment and traveled abroad for cultural enrichment. That discourse formed the traditional belief that study abroad, since its programmes primarily serve women, is not a significant academic pursuit.

Traditional Belief: Study Abroad is for Wealthy Women from Wealthy Institutions

Within the discourse of the American higher education community, the perception that study abroad is an academically insignificant Grand Tour for women linked with the belief that study abroad is an activity pursued by the wealthy. Hence a traditional belief has developed that study abroad programmes are intended expressly for wealthy women attending wealthy institutions.

Contemporary Manifestation of this Traditional Belief

Academic literature, reports, and public statements assert repeatedly that wealthier students are the primary participants in U.S. study abroad. In 1990, for example, the Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad published that "Opportunities for such experience abroad are still confined to a small fraction of American undergraduates, *mainly upper middle class*"

[emphasis added].¹¹⁶ The opinion dates back decades. In 1960, new interest in study abroad brought over 500 academic representatives to a National Conference on Study Abroad, organised by the Association of American Colleges, the Council of Student Travel,¹¹⁷ the Experiment in International Living, and the Institute of International Education. This pivotal meeting found it important to call for low-cost programmes and study abroad scholarships "to avoid limiting the programs to those with greater financial means."¹¹⁸ In the 1980s, Goodwin and Nacht still considered study abroad to be the bastion of more privileged students.¹¹⁹ More recently Barbara Burns bemoaned the image of the "junior year, rich woman."¹²⁰

Many students have likewise held the belief that study abroad is for the well-to-do among them. "Prohibitive costs -- real or imagined -- are one reason students do not consider education abroad as an option in undergraduate studies," found Nancy Stubbs in her analysis of financial aid within study abroad programmes.¹²¹ The CIEE Baseline Survey also shows cost considerations to be the top two concerns among students (see Appendix A, Table 3.11, CIEE Baseline Survey: Student Factors When Considering Study Abroad).

The 1995-96 Council market analysis of U.S. college student interest in study abroad, conducted by students in the Darden Graduate School of Business at the University of Virginia¹²² and organised in initial consultation with this researcher, confirmed the financial concerns of study abroad students and reported that students choosing not to study abroad overwhelmingly cited cost as a reason. (A full description of this fieldwork is in the endnote immediately preceding, as per the method described in Chapter One.)

"Students feel that studying abroad will be more expensive than studying at their home university, and feel that they lack access to sufficient financing," the Darden study group reported. "Finances were the biggest concern cited by students who did chose to study abroad."¹²³ The following tables illustrate these concerns:

Table 3.12

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," 16.

Table 3.13

Darden Survey: Reasons for Not Going Abroad

Students said that "finances" were most influential in their decisions not to travel and study abroad. Two related factors came in second and third: "leaving school activities" and "leaving friends."

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," 22.

When a request went out by e-mail in 1995-1996 to a nationwide group of study abroad advisers, asking them to recall 'Mythologies of Going Abroad' that they had encountered among students they were advising, 'Money

Issues' appeared. Students were reported to have believed that: "It's too expensive," "I will loose [sic] my institutional scholarships," and "I can't use my financial aid/scholarships to go abroad."¹²⁴

Closely akin to the traditional belief that wealthy women participate in U.S. study abroad is the assumption that it is predominantly wealthy institutions that advocate, initiate, and maintain study abroad programmes for American students. U.S. study abroad programmes did originate largely at Eastern colleges,¹²⁵ particularly private women's colleges. Briggs and Burn point out that the origin of the Junior Year Abroad at predominantly women's colleges, almost seventy-five years back, continues to influence belief that study abroad is a women's 'private college phenomenon.'¹²⁶ Goodwin and Nacht articulate the belief as well. Even as they report growth among study abroad programmes and increased diversity among the institutions supporting them in the 1980s, nonetheless they describe study abroad before the growth phase as an experience that drew primarily "juniors at elite liberal arts colleges."¹²⁷

These beliefs persist, particularly since they resonate with the other traditional beliefs, such as that of the Grand Tour tradition, with its upper-class origins and implications. Despite the current empirical

evidence, the perception of study abroad as an expensive experience, only for the wealthy, is central in the American higher education community's episteme.

Discourse Formation

This ongoing discourse of wealth was grounded in the institutional development of study abroad programmes and it associated with the beliefs about the function of women's education. Just after World War I many more American students, of both genders, attended college, and the idea of women attending college became more socially acceptable. Ironically, with that shift came the already described decline in the image that college women were serious-minded.

The image of the college woman shifted from that of a woman striving to achieve education in an era when it was not widely accepted to do so, to that of a woman with social rights, pursuing the pleasures of modern life. Travel for personal enrichment was a leisure-class activity, as noted early on by Thorstein Veblen, who argued that "modes of behavior and sets of values motivated by the privileged classes" who need to convert excess time and money into prestige become "standards of 'decency' for entire cultures."¹²⁸ In this context, "the social benefits of 'honorific waste' were added to the

very real personal pleasures and satisfactions of European travel. The trip to Europe, a luxury made possible by the accumulation of excess capital, became a token of bourgeois respectability."¹²⁹ Such meanings informed traditional beliefs about study abroad that began to arise during the same period.

Many believed that most American students engaged in study abroad in the 1920s were wealthy women. Robert C. Pace, in his study of participants in the Delaware/Sweet Briar programmes, observed that by and large women from wealthy homes were the students most able to attend these programmes.¹³⁰ Data from Sweet Briar confirm the image to some extent. Sweet Briar study abroad alumni answering the 1995 survey considered themselves at least middle-class or upper-middle-class (see Appendix A, Table 3.14, Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 11: Socioeconomic Status at Time of Study).

From early on, though, faculty and administrators sought ways to make study abroad financially feasible for a wide range of student. President Walter Hulliher of the University of Delaware, a primary supporter for the nation's first programme, expressed his hope from the start that the experience would not prove too costly.¹³¹ According to Munroe, Hulliher wanted the programme to cost no more than 20 percent above the regular fees of

University of Delaware enrollment, but it was not possible to keep the costs that low.¹³²

Jean Brown, University of Delaware archivist, has found that participants in these seminal programmes were not always the wealthiest students. The record indicates that some were receiving scholarship funding.¹³³ (See Appendix A, Table 3.15, Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 12: How did you finance your study abroad experience?) Scholarships, made possible by donations from the DuPont family and others,¹³⁴ amounted to \$300 apiece and "were offered to students who could not afford to go without financial aid," according to the 1931 *Bulletin of the University of Delaware*.

In his study of the Sweet Briar programme, *Twenty-Five Years on the Left Bank*, John Matthew found that during the years 1948-49 through 1971-72, an increasing effort was made to support lower-income students: "As the number of participants increased from year to year, 67 in 1948-49 to 106 in 1972-73, so too did the number of worthy students who were granted scholarship awards who otherwise might not have been able to participate."¹³⁵ While scholarship development began slowly, with "one scholarship awarded the first year, 3 or 4 the second year, 14 the third year, the program has continued to give scholarship awards as funds have become available."

In 1971-72, 28 students out of 106 received aid of some kind, and 18 of them received awards directly from Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Funds.¹³⁶ (See Appendix A, Table 3.16, Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Funds, 1948-49 to 1971-72, for a tabulation of scholarship aid over this period of nearly a quarter century.)

While many students going abroad did and still do come from relatively well-to-do households, not all have been or are wealthy. With the effort to develop low-cost programmes and with federal and state aid, an increasingly diverse socioeconomic group now goes abroad. (See Appendix A, Table 3.17, CIEE Baseline Survey: Financial Aid Use, for recent opportunities to finance U.S. study abroad.) The Institute of International Education reports 54% of responding institutions allowed all forms of financial aid to be used for study abroad, with the remainder allowing some forms of aid to be applied.¹³⁷

When financial issues are reduced by making scholarships and aid available, it is still, according to available data, most often women who utilise that support and study overseas. In the Sweet Briar programme, of the 64 students awarded financial aid between 1992 and 1996, only five were men.¹³⁸ (See Appendix A, Table 3.18, Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Financial Aid, 1992-96.)

Since financial aid does not affect the gender ratio of participants, there is no perceived evidence contraindicating the traditional belief that the women who participate must be wealthy.

Students and their advisers sometimes presume that financial aid at their home college will not support study abroad -- a perception held at many institutions despite federal actions and communications of the past decade. Federal financial aid has since 1965 been governed by Chapter IV of the Higher Education Act, reviewed and reauthorised every five years by Congress. During reauthorisation discussions that began in 1990, a group of study abroad professionals requested new language to specify that students could use federal aid for study abroad. Such has been the case since the Act was passed into law, but traditional beliefs to the contrary remain, even after Congress reauthorised the application in July 1992.¹³⁹

Recent years have seen efforts to develop and publicise lower-cost programme options for students. Jon O. Heise, study abroad adviser at Loyola University, developed an informal list, which he made available nationally, of 'Rock Bottom' study abroad programmes: programmes costing under \$5000 a term, including tuition, fees, room, board, and transportation.¹⁴⁰ This type of

listing is informative. Heise originated it because he believed study abroad should be made accessible to students lacking wealth,¹⁴¹ another indicator of the opinion that study abroad is for the wealthy.

Just as it is believed that elite female students go abroad, it is also perceived that programmes are sponsored by elite institutions. Study abroad demographics changed dramatically following World War II, as pointed out by NAFSA Deputy Director M. Archer Brown:

A number of developments, both in the public and private sectors, were to have a profound impact on study abroad. The Council on Student Travel, for example, was established in 1948 by agencies in the private sector, to encourage and facilitate exchange-of-persons programs through the chartering of transatlantic ships, including reconverted United States troop carriers, to transport American students to Europe. These groups were primarily concerned with the resumption of secondary school and undergraduate exchanges following World War II, but only two years earlier the Fulbright Act (P.L. 584), a congressional initiative, launched a relatively large-scale international exchange of scholars and researchers as well as students.

The postwar period in general and the 1950s in particular saw the rapid development of area studies and language centers on United States college and university campuses; new bilateral agreements (even including some with the Soviet Union) provided impetus for exchange at various levels. Colleges and universities themselves began to form consortia -- pooling their resources in order to provide increased study abroad opportunities for their students.¹⁴²

Opportunities expanded substantially. In 1950, there were ten programmes in Europe; in 1960, there were thirty. During the 1960s, a period of rapid growth, one hundred new programmes in Europe opened.¹⁴³ This expansion attracted new higher education institutions into foreign exchange activities.

In the 1960s, large private and public universities became actively involved in sponsoring diverse international education programmes, in contrast to the early sponsorship pattern among small, private, predominantly Eastern, women's liberal arts colleges or Catholic women's colleges with European ties.¹⁴⁴ More recently, sponsorship has also been developing within community colleges.¹⁴⁵

Explanations for the growth of study abroad that began in the 1950s are varied. After two world wars, interest in finding a path to world peace had directed attention abroad, as had post-war reconstruction.¹⁴⁶ John Wallace noted that as former Fulbright faculty returned to their overseas locations, bringing their students with them, they contributed to the growing interest in study abroad.¹⁴⁷ The Cold War brought new emphasis to foreign language and area studies; Sputnik, the first satellite -- launched by Russia, not the United States -- aroused

concern about American competence and prompted calls for better domestic and foreign education to keep America competitive.¹⁴⁸ The Peace Corps contributed to a new sense of the importance of foreign travel and living abroad as part of a young person's education.¹⁴⁹ Trade and investment abroad and "the emergence of multinational companies as a 'sixth continent'" emerged as a motive for interest in international education in the 1960s and 1970s,¹⁵⁰ as did the spectre of national security.¹⁵¹

In the 1980s, the themes of global awareness and responsibility dominated discourse concerning the value of study abroad:

Despite our position of international leadership for almost fifty years, we are ill-prepared for the changes in business, manufacturing, diplomacy, science and technology that have come with an intensely interdependent world. Effectiveness in such a world requires a citizenry whose knowledge is sufficiently international in scope to cope with global interdependence.¹⁵²

In this climate of global concern, the number of institutions supporting study abroad has grown dramatically. The Institute of International Education's 1997-98 directory counts 2,430 programmes, some 1,760 or 72 percent of them sponsored by colleges and universities accredited in the United States.¹⁵³ The Institute lists 1,860 summer programmes, 60 percent of which U.S.

institutions operate.¹⁵⁴ According to a company spokesman, Peterson's,¹⁵⁵ in its 1995 editions of *Study Abroad* and *Summer Study Abroad*, listed a total of 1,335 programmes available to American students, all operated in affiliation with 341 American colleges and universities or directly by them.¹⁵⁶

At the same time, the array of institutions sponsoring study abroad has diversified. "In the 1950s and 1960s, formal academic programs were conducted primarily by four-year, private liberal arts institutions," writes Archer Brown; "in the 1970s there was a sizable increase in the number of state universities and two-year colleges offering study abroad options."¹⁵⁷ Programmes came to be found in all types of institutions, "from the community college to the high-powered technical research university, institutions that are public and private, rural and urban, secular and church related."¹⁵⁸ According to an American Council on Education survey completed in the late 1980s, 64 percent of the responding baccalaureate institutes and 81 percent of the responding universities offered their own undergraduate programmes abroad.¹⁵⁹

Today, private liberal arts colleges remain among those extensively supporting international education, confirming the normalised image of study abroad as an

experience for the wealthy (while excluding from vision the possibility that financial aid might have enabled poorer participants, as described earlier in this chapter). For example, the International 50 includes the self-identified fifty liberal arts colleges that have "made significant contributions to the international interest." (See Appendix A, Table 3.19, International 50 Membership, for the names of schools belonging to the group.) Described as 'international liberal arts colleges,' these schools provide international activities resources "far greater than their comparatively small enrollments would suggest."¹⁶⁰

Beliefs about institutions involved in U.S. study abroad arose in part from the predominance of private liberal arts colleges among those instituting such programmes, and have been reinforced by their current role. While fewer than one percent of all American college students and just 2.1 percent of undergraduates at research universities are studying abroad in a given year, fully 8.5 percent of International 50 liberal arts college students participate in study abroad programmes annually.¹⁶¹ Over one-third of all International 50 students have some sort of academic experience abroad before graduation, a figure four times the Higher Education Research Institute's national figure of 8.9

percent.¹⁶² (See Appendix A, Table 3.20, Participation in Study Abroad Programmes, comparing International 50 Institutions and Research Universities.)

The Institute for International Education's mid-decade figures¹⁶³ suggest instead far greater diversity among the institutional supporters of U.S. undergraduate study abroad. According to IIE editor Todd Davis, "Traditionally, study abroad experiences were pioneered at selective liberal arts institutions. Today, however, research institutions sponsor the largest proportion, about 43% of study abroad students,"¹⁶⁴ the majority public.

In January 1996, the report of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) reflected this institutional diversity:

In the spring of 1995, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) surveyed its member presidents about international programs on their campuses. Questions solicited information about the extent of international activity on the campuses for the 1994-95 academic year, including institutional commitment to international programs, use of international education networks, funding and contract/grant activity, international curricula, activities abroad and future assistance needs. Some 281 responses were received, for a 74.7 percent response rate.

The results reveal a breadth of international activity as diverse as the many public institutions across the United

States, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands that comprise AASCU's membership.¹⁶⁵

With increasing numbers of U.S. colleges and universities involved directly or indirectly in study abroad,¹⁶⁶ the number of public and lower-cost institutions involved has increased. Yet, as Foucault suggested, in institutions such as universities, discourse creates and sustains persistent definitions that reinforce traditional allocations of power¹⁶⁷ and that exclude ideas that challenge existing belief.¹⁶⁸

Diversification of institutions supporting study abroad and socioeconomic diversification of participants has been ongoing within the U.S. higher education community, yet these developments have not eroded the traditional belief that study abroad is the prerogative of wealthy women from wealthy institutions -- just as the early efforts to subsidise poorer students did not hamper the early evolution of this belief.

As most of the pre-World War II study abroad programmes were sponsored by small, somewhat elite women's colleges, the traditional belief developed that only wealthy women from wealthy institutions participated in study abroad. Development of this belief systematised with the belief that study abroad is a Grand Tour, enjoyed for cultural enrichment by the leisure class, as

well as the belief that study abroad provides broad cultural enrichment for women with no concern for professional preparation and no interest in significant academic experiences.

Alternative discourses were and remain marginalised and often invisible.¹⁶⁹ Indeed the first study abroad programme, at the University of Delaware, was not even housed in or sponsored by a private women's college. Early sponsoring institutions were most often women's colleges, but since the end of World War II, the list of American schools involved in study abroad reflects a growing diversity, broadening to include feeder institutions and sponsoring institutions, including a large percentage of lower-cost public institutions. From the start, efforts have been made to diversify programme participation with financial assistance. In recent years, the demographic characteristics of students involved in study abroad have broadened as well. Nevertheless, the power of the traditional belief that it is wealthy women from wealthy institutions who go abroad is sustained.

**Traditional Belief: Study Abroad Offers a Liberal Arts
Programme of Study, Inapplicable to Professional
Development**

The image that wealthy private colleges sponsored study abroad programmes for their wealthy female constituencies devalued study abroad, representing it as an elitist activity pursued by those whose prosperity sustained a leisurely lifestyle. The very type of institution with which these programmes were associated -- the liberal arts college -- identified the topics that would presumably be studied overseas. That they were women's colleges called forth the values, described in this chapter, that demeaned liberal study for women as a pursuit for personal pleasure, not career preparation.¹⁷⁰ The devaluation of the women and their sponsoring colleges linked with evaluations of the liberal curriculum in discourse formation. As noted earlier, when Barbara Burn and Asa Briggs decried the reputation of study abroad as an elitist female pursuit, they observed that this image derived in part from the association of study abroad with the humanities.¹⁷¹ These associations contributed to the formation of the traditional belief within the American higher education community that U.S. study abroad programmes specialise in the liberal arts (the humanities and the social sciences)

and, following that, that study abroad cannot contribute to students' professional development.

Contemporary Manifestation of this Traditional Belief

Many comments convey the belief that students abroad pursue liberal arts studies and are therefore not interested in professional education. For example, Kathleen M. Reilly observed that:

Study abroad has long been considered a worthwhile, if only tangential, academic activity for the personal development and cultural exposure of college students. Usually associated with the affluent, study abroad was most often considered the domain of women in the liberal arts. . . . Students and administrators still frequently view study abroad as the cultural dabbling of dilettantes despite dramatically changed social, economic and political conditions that are making international experience critically important.¹⁷²

Within this single statement about prevailing opinions among students and administrators, Reilly recognised the traditional beliefs already identified in this thesis -- that study abroad is considered a Grand Tour, for "personal development and cultural exposure";¹⁷³ that study abroad is "considered the domain of women";¹⁷⁴ that study abroad is "usually associated with the affluent."¹⁷⁵ Reilly identified yet another conception, saying that

many consider study abroad "tangential," concerned only with liberal arts, an education which is considered "the cultural dabbling of dilettantes."¹⁷⁶

For some, the belief that study abroad emphasises liberal study for cultural pursuit defined as insignificant or trivial, not study for serious or professional purposes, articulates with the traditional belief that women predominate: "The arts are tinged with effeminacy in the popular thinking," states Mabel Newcomer, Emeritus Professor of Economics at Vassar College: men apologise for their interest in the arts while women find such an interest to be "natural."¹⁷⁷ Women students in the mid-twentieth century "are often credited with preserving the liberal arts tradition in a period when technical training was increasingly demanded by the new and the monetary value of higher education was emphasized."¹⁷⁸ Catherine R. Stimpson, feminist scholar and Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at New York University, observed the link between the liberal arts and gender stereotypes when she wrote that "There may be a bias against the liberal arts, a feeling that real men don't speak French, that in the 20th century these are women's topics."¹⁷⁹

The evaluation of foreign language study is framed by traditional beliefs as well. "United States study

abroad has traditionally focused on language and culture, rather than on the acquisition of specific knowledge in other fields," writes NAFSA Deputy Executive Director Archer Brown.¹⁸⁰ As such, it appears to carry no focused or significant career-oriented aid to the student. Study abroad advisers report hearing, with some regularity, student comments such as "Going abroad will never do anything for my career!" and "The professional bodies in my field are opposed to it."¹⁸¹ Students, as well as faculty and administrators, express doubt about the usefulness of the overseas education experience as preparation for the world of work.

Discourse Formation

In the late nineteenth century, the philosophy behind the American college curriculum changed dramatically. Features in the discourse formation that contributed to the development of traditional beliefs about study abroad as a Grand Tour and study abroad as a lesser academic activity pursued by women also appear in the systematisation of views about the worth of liberal education.

College administrators chose to abandon the model of the traditional liberal arts education, defined by the classical European curriculum that included Greek, Latin,

mathematics, philosophy, science, and English, in favor of studies that led more directly into the modern professions.¹⁸² As already noted, liberal education had performed the function of training men for careers in colonial and post-colonial America, a function which substantially gave way in the mid-nineteenth century to a practical curriculum offered at land-grant colleges (those state colleges established with funds generated by the sale of federal lands) and the universities. This practical focus energised the American education movement and gave rise to some suspicion about liberal education.¹⁸³ On the other hand, professional education achieved university status at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁴

A new formula for the modern American university developed. This formula was exemplified by numerous universities established in the latter half of the nineteenth century, designed to collect the best of European educational traditions and yet add something uniquely American: "the rationalism and empiricism of the Enlightenment, the impact of the American and French revolution, the influence of the resurgent German universities of the nineteenth century, and the utilitarian need for incorporating new fields of knowledge, such as science and modern languages, into the

curriculum to serve the needs of an expanding society."¹⁸⁵
At that time, as described above, females were not considered a serious constituency within the college student population. College administrators sought to serve their male students, who in that era were the obvious and only pursuers of professional goals.¹⁸⁶

The shape of a college curriculum changed as well. The idea of electives emerged, supplanting the concept of a single classical course of study for all students. Harvard University led the way, radically relaxing course and curriculum requirements. The social sciences were developing as significant fields of study, and courses in those new disciplines took the place of some of the core courses in the old liberal arts curriculum. The core that had once included religion and philosophy now contained economics, sociology, psychology, history, and government.¹⁸⁷

These new courses in the social sciences attracted men and women equally. But at that historical moment, since male education was seen as professional and female education was not, some reacted against women who chose the new fields of study. Some feared the 'feminisation' of the new electives -- a derogatory term meaning that women, whose studies were presumed not to have serious purpose, were devaluing the courses available to men. As

a result, there was some effort to develop courses more oriented toward women. A new sort of college curriculum emerged within American institutions, with courses that emphasised skill and physical acumen, "from manual labor and calisthenics to engineering and home economics," as Solomon suggests.¹⁸⁸

At the end of the nineteenth century, to support a serious commitment to the education of women, another type of 'women's curriculum' developed at the Ivy League women's colleges, stronger in the arts than its male counterpart and, "in fact, more intelligent, human, and 'progressive' than the curriculum in such places as Yale and Princeton."¹⁸⁹ The zeal at women's colleges in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was generated by a sense that women and women's colleges were part of a great venture: "To them, women's colleges were an important if not essential aspect of God's plan for the emancipation of their sex and the redemption of the world."¹⁹⁰

After World War I, the atmosphere of women's education shifted, as noted earlier in this chapter, when discussing the evolution of the traditional belief that study abroad is academically weak because it is predominantly a female activity. The pre-World War I vision of education for unmarried or career-oriented

women disappeared, supplanted by more devaluing opinions of the role of women in the culture.¹⁹¹ This shift in cultural perceptions also incorporated the study of the liberal arts and sciences into the concept of women's proper education.¹⁹² In 1924, for example, "Vassar departed from its past to establish a program which adapted the arts and sciences to homemaking."¹⁹³

Women nonetheless persisted in their expression of interest in the new social science and humanities courses. New courses held "broad appeal at women's colleges as well as at comparable men's schools. Yet this change in academic climate had different implications for women and men students."¹⁹⁴ Women, it was assumed, would eventually marry and bear children and thus 'waste' advanced education.¹⁹⁵ As described earlier, as the modern university curriculum developed in the United States, it was presumed that male studies, even within the liberal arts, were pre-professional while female studies were cultural in nature.¹⁹⁶ "One consequence of coeducation for women," writes Page Smith, "was the tendency to head them into the liberal-arts curriculum and to charge them with the responsibility for 'culture.'"¹⁹⁷

This definition of the purpose for female liberal arts study linked with the traditional beliefs

constituting study abroad as a Grand Tour cultural pursuit of wealthy women to devalue the function of overseas education. This devaluation has been nurtured by the persistent dominance of the liberal arts as the content of study abroad. Evidence of how extensively programmes have supported liberal arts study comes both from the academic majors of students involved and from the courses of study offered. C. Robert Pace's 1959 study of the Delaware/Sweet Briar Paris programme found that participants by and large majored in foreign language and literature,¹⁹⁸ and the more recent survey reflecting participants between 1948 and 1993 finds a similar pattern still: the majority of students attending the programme have chosen to major in the humanities, the social studies, or foreign languages. (See Appendix A, Table 3.24, Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 15: Student Majors Prior to Study Abroad.)

Although surveys conducted by the Institute of International Education do show the increasing diversity of participants' majors in U.S. study abroad programmes, these results demonstrate a consistent core group of majors in the social sciences and humanities, broadly defined, and in the various humanities, separately identified within the fields of foreign language and fine or applied arts. In 1995-96 a total of 52.5 percent

majored in these areas; another 16.5 percent were unidentified majors or dual majors. Of the known non-liberal arts majors, 13.9 percent were business, leaving the remaining 17.1 percent to represent all other non-liberal arts disciplines in the academy.¹⁹⁹

An analysis of statistics provided by Peterson's publications for this thesis confirms this increasing interest in business. In the survey conducted for the 1995 editions of their *Study Abroad* and *Summer Study Abroad*, Peterson's identified 676 distinct academic areas available for study U.S. sponsored programmes abroad; the top four areas were history, political science, social science, and business.²⁰⁰ The liberal arts -- humanities and social sciences -- still dominate, even while business is emerging as a favoured topic among American undergraduates studying abroad.

Despite increased diversity, including new courses in business, the greatest number of students going abroad from the United States still pursue the traditional liberal arts disciplines (see Appendix A, Table 3.25, CIEE Enrollments in Diversified Programmes, 1989-93). Enrollment in CIEE programmes further demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of students overseas have concentrated in the humanities and social sciences. This preponderance of liberal arts majors; the sense of the

liberal arts as cultural studies pursued by women; the continued preponderance of women as study abroad participants; the discursive association of women's interests with elitism, wealth, and travel for pleasure -- all these ideas have coalesced to formulate and sustain the traditional belief that study abroad programmes offer a liberal arts experience unrelated to any professional preparation.²⁰¹

**Traditional Belief: Study Abroad is Academically Weak;
U.S. Education is Better**

The functional worth of liberal education as a training ground for professional development is marginalised in the American academy. The same associations that produced this devaluation were reflected in the formation of the traditional belief that its academic quality is weak. Since women were the constituents for study abroad and their education was secondary to men's, and since the women going abroad were perceived to be wealthy and uninterested in learning to prepare them to function in the professional world, a foundation of doubt about the seriousness of their education formed. Compounding this doubt was the new enthusiasm for the quality of domestic education, described earlier in this chapter. Education at home was

presumed to be of better quality than that available abroad for the serious students -- the men -- who needed training for public life.²⁰² Women -- the less serious students, who did not need education to survive economically or to lead professionally -- were thus perceived to be pursuing an education abroad of lesser quality.

According to Foucault, institutions form their self-image through discourse informed by historic circumstance. Those self-images define what visions the institutions empower.²⁰³ The discourse of American faculty most often exhibits the belief that serious academic work can best be done in the United States, not abroad. This discourse serves to empower domestic education and to marginalise any form of education abroad, as this section will show.

Contemporary Manifestation of this Traditional Belief

Even during America's post-colonial era, as the founders of educational institutions looked to Europe for models, a mistrust of the academic worth of Old World institutions was articulated. When Thomas Jefferson founded the nation's first full-fledged state university, the University of Virginia (intending, as mentioned earlier, to provide a more rigorous educational setting

than he believed could be found overseas), he recruited five Europeans among his seven first professors. He explained to fellow patriot John Adams that with so few American scholars to choose from in the young republic, he preferred hiring "foreigners of the first order to natives of the second."²⁰⁴ Despite this rationale, Jefferson received criticism from newspaper editors who accused him of insulting the American people by this act of intellectual "importation."²⁰⁵

Nationalistic preferences are still voiced today. Kathleen M. Reilly stated, "Responses to the political, environmental, economic and technological arenas are changing dramatically, yet academic attitudes and policies have yet to recognize the centrality of study abroad to the intellectual and personal development of college students whose personal and professional lives will be dominated by the trends."²⁰⁶ Benjamin de Winter reports a more general attitude "that educational programs abroad are simply not as good as those found in the U.S.," even those programmes teaching foreign languages, literatures, and cultures. De Winter reports hearing some administrators state opinions such as "The best work in German literature is done in the U.S."²⁰⁷ Goodwin and Nacht likewise encountered some language instructors "who claimed that foreign languages could

better be taught at home without all the 'impure' distractions of an overseas setting" -- although that was a minority opinion.²⁰⁸

Beliefs as to the primacy of the American educational system are manifested in the sparse amount of international research and academic travel activities conducted by faculty at U.S. colleges and universities. According to a late twentieth century American Council on Education study, at only eight percent of all higher education institutions in the U.S. do more than one out of ten faculty members participate in overseas projects or consulting activities. At only 12 percent do more than one out of ten faculty members participate in international research projects.²⁰⁹

These statistics reflect what Goodwin and Nacht identified as "a good deal of indifference in some quarters and a high level of skepticism, even hostility, among many faculty, administrators, and friends of higher education" toward international education.²¹⁰ They report that many American faculty feel that those colleagues who are developing programmes overseas are engaging in "faculty frolic," "creating lucrative playpens," and indulging in "an irrelevant distraction on the road to professional careers."²¹¹ Some academics, they say, hold the opinions that "foreign education systems are

derivative, teach mainly rote learning, and stifle creativity."²¹²

Financial decision makers enter the dialogue, expressing value judgments regarding study abroad through resource allocation. In times of fiscal crisis, difficult choices reflect even more strongly the hierarchical priorities among academic projects. This state of "financial precariousness," say Goodwin and Nacht, results in "the conviction within academic administrations that, with the exception of development assistance contracts, international research and teaching never bring in the overhead recovery experienced on domestic projects. . . . At best, they believe, internationalization may be a loss leader."²¹³ When they asked college and university presidents to become more specific about their intentions to globalise their campuses, Goodwin and Nacht heard frequent references to "the short-sightedness and stinginess of the state legislature." One faculty member complained "his leader 'does not put his resources where his rhetoric is.'"²¹⁴

Although the CIEE Baseline Survey finds that advisers consider their institutions to be committed to international education development (see Appendix A, Table 3.26, CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 1: Institutional Commitment), funding decisions often do not

echo that commitment. Thirty-eight percent of institutions report charging beyond regular tuition and fees to support study abroad administration (see Table 3.27, CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 17: Do you charge an administrative fee?) The 1995 New York State Task Force on International Education decries this approach as marginalising study abroad: "Study abroad offices are often established with funds which are not allocated as part of the regular college budget." The report recommends institutional support, not self-support, for study abroad activities, in part to reduce "the distorted image of study abroad as a non-essential dimension of education."²¹⁵

When study abroad is not funded, it becomes a less likely choice for students. Barbara Burn has pointed out that "Although most colleges and universities give academic credit for approved study abroad, relatively few have integrated study into on-going curricular programs or enlisted faculty support for making study abroad an important element in a student's total academic program."²¹⁶ Without institutional financing, study abroad appears a less significant educational activity and institutional practices perpetuate the traditional belief. While college and university students in many other cultures around the world are encouraged to study

in other countries, Americans are not, points out Archer Brown. "Most sponsored foreign students, particularly those from non-European countries, are motivated by their home governments or their home institutions to obtain a foreign education. United States students who study abroad are not fulfilling a governmental development objective. . . . Nor are they reflecting their institutions' commitment to international education."²¹⁷

The NAFSA National Task Force reported "the lack of institutional commitment to a strong international dimension in undergraduate education" as a major inhibitor to "expansion and improved quality" in undergraduate study abroad.²¹⁸ Further, a serious lack of support services for study abroad programming significantly inhibits the growth and development of programmes for undergraduate students.²¹⁹ William Hoffa notes the lack of institutional support for study abroad in *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad*.²²⁰

Harold Vaughn, Director of International Education for the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) and former programme director at Syracuse University, supervised the 1995 AASCU survey of member presidents. Vaughn stated that, in conducting the report, he presented state colleges and universities at their best, hoping to demonstrate their successes, but

consistently found international education, including study abroad, low on the institutional priority list and not well-supported by any U.S. institution he examined.²²¹

The AASCU survey revealed the following lack of institutional support for international education at the faculty level:

Faculty reward systems at most campuses do not specifically encourage international expertise. Slightly more than half of responding institutions do not specify involvement in international programs and activities as a criterion for faculty rewards. Among those who do, three-fourths state that this is a campus-wide policy. Most institutions that do reward international involvement do so by providing travel stipends and offering general "recognition."²²²

The survey did not promise change in the foreseeable future:

Institutions were asked to indicate if their campuses have formally identified future funding priorities for international programs and activities, and to select the top five funding priorities. Study abroad, internationalizing across the curriculum, faculty development, programs for international students and sending faculty abroad were identified as the priorities. Less than 36 percent of all respondents indicated that these priorities had been formally set.²²³

Without institutional support, study abroad programmes and students interested in them continue to be marginalised. The programmes cannot build numbers, quality, influence, or reputation. As Goodwin and Nacht

state, "it is important to have study abroad well woven into the total fabric of the institution, and the administrator responsible for the function should be firmly in the academic sector, rather than in student affairs, student services, general administration, counseling, or some other more distant part of the educational hierarchy."²²⁴ According to NAFSA, by the last quarter of the century, between 1,200 and 1,500 U.S. colleges had a designated study abroad adviser, but only about one hundred of those worked in full-fledged offices closely tied to the central structure of their institutions.²²⁵

Cassandra A. Pyle, now Director Emeritus of the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, observed a growing trend by end of the 1980s toward centralised offices for international education on U.S. campuses.²²⁶ Yet in 1997, Harold Vaughn observed that while there is great interest in international education in higher education, presidents face many competing demands,²²⁷ a sentiment echoed in 1999 by Charles Ping, President Emeritus of Ohio University, and Henry Bienen, President of Northwestern University.²²⁸ Presidents respond to priorities, and international education is no one's priority, an issue recognised when international educators identified funding increases to support

internationalisation as the most commonly reported need in the AASCU study.²²⁹ Dr. Joann McCarthy, Director of International Education at the University of South Florida and an officer in the Association of International Education Administrators, concurs. International education, according to McCarthy, infrequently stands center stage at U.S. institutions and is rarely connected to the central curriculum and campus activities.²³⁰

As recently as 1995, the New York State Task Force on International Education issued a set of recommendations intended to enhance study abroad activity at New York State public and private institutions. Within those recommendations came a call to integrate study abroad with study on campuses: "The challenge for policy makers is to develop a coherent policy for all aspects of international studies and programs, including faculty, student, and staff developments."²³¹ According to the CIEE Baseline Survey, international education advisers and administrators believe the most useful change to help their efforts would be to tie study abroad activities to the normalised and empowered components of the institution by creating a centralised administrative structure, closely connected with the institution's central administration. (See Appendix A, Table 3.28,

CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 17: Administrative Changes.)

Study abroad development on many campuses is initiated by individuals acting on their own, however, rather than by an office staff appointed and supported by the central administration.²³² The NAFSA Task Force Report emphasised this point, stating that "We were struck repeatedly by the importance of a charismatic leader in galvanizing a campus to focus on and undertake study abroad."²³³ It is not uncommon for an individual faculty member, frequently in a foreign language field, to initiate a programme abroad for personal reasons. He or she receives approval from the appropriate authority in the college or university, makes arrangements with an institution abroad, and ventures forth, rather like the Pied Piper, leading students to some foreign destination. This approach, called by Briggs and Burn "entrepreneurial and decentralized," has negative rhetorical consequences, as they point out: "It denigrates the need for professionalism and institutional commitment. The fact that at some colleges and universities study abroad is expected to be self-supporting or even to generate revenues for the institution further affirms its peripheral status and lack of institutional leverage."²³⁴

Philip G. Altbach, Director of the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College, and Hans deWit, Director of Foreign Relations at the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands and 1994 President of the European Association for International Education, argue together that America has "abdicated leadership" in this field of higher education. "According to a recent Carnegie Foundation survey of faculty in 14 countries, American professors are the least internationally minded," they write. "In general, American professors do not actively support international education, fearing enrollment losses in their majors or simply feeling that internationalism is not central to their subjects and disciplines."²³⁵

Goodwin and Nacht echo this observation in their report, indicating that faculty perceive overseas work as problematic, not beneficial, to the educational process. American faculty often "believe the students' time could be used better at home; they regret the loss of their own courses, the 'breaking of the major' for the junior year."²³⁶ Reflecting suspicions about the quality of foreign education and its utility for American students and faculty, Goodwin and Nacht report that faculty and administrators in the American academy disdain any

"implication that the best of all worlds cannot be found on the home campus."²³⁷

Discourse Formation

This validation of domestic over foreign education has formed through practices that include the emergence of the multidisciplinary university in the U.S., the structure of study abroad programme models, and institutional choices that bear an impact on study abroad.

The development of the American university has already been extensively described in this chapter, discussing the evolution of previously identified traditional beliefs. This institutional evolution was part of the rationalisation of discourse within this traditional belief that domestic education is superior to foreign education. It played a key role, as described earlier, in the systematisation of the discourse reflecting the dominant devaluing definitions about study abroad.

To summarise briefly: before World War I, study abroad in United States was a critical avenue for professional training for young men.²³⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century, however, belief in the superiority of German universities began to decline, supplanted by the

impression that the developing curriculum of American universities could provide not only an adequate but even a better education.²³⁹ As a result, fewer men went overseas to study abroad, preferring professional training at home. The era of the graduate male American pursuing professional study abroad was at an end.²⁴⁰

As the men stayed home, young American women began to travel in more organised ways. As previously described, by the end of the century, groups of women were led by professors on educational tours to visit Europe and pursue cultural interests.²⁴¹ Young men no longer went abroad in great numbers, unless they were the children of wealthy Americans, perceived to be following the Grand Tour tradition, as were the groups of young women. The American university ascended as the validated form of education, leaving foreign study at its periphery.

Study Abroad Programme Models

This verification of domestic education was expressed in some of the earliest discourse about modern study abroad. When Smith College began its programme in the 1920s, the faculty railed against the idea, reports Patricia Olmsted, Director Emeritus of Smith's Office of Study Abroad. The French Department in particular

questioned the feasibility of the Junior Year Abroad model, given their students' inability to integrate into the French system.²⁴² The Smith faculty voted against what they deemed a "wild" proposal.²⁴³ Olmsted reports a Smith College dean as saying:

The Junior Year is in large part a tool of general educational experience; language, places, museums, general know-how; not the development of critical powers and fine discriminating judgment on literary questions. The French Department at Smith can develop these powers for its students; in a comparable degree the Paris faculty cannot . . .²⁴⁴

Faculty suspicion about the quality of study abroad was manifest from the start.²⁴⁵

A set of mutually exclusive values soon attached to the Junior Year Abroad. As discussed earlier, the model was connected to the elite Eastern women's colleges where such programmes first took shape. John Bowman describes these early programmes as "in part, a transformation of the European tour for young women into an academic experience."²⁴⁶ The Junior Year Abroad soon became associated with an elite population studying less than serious academic subjects in the Grand Tour tradition.

Academic disdain toward the Junior Year Abroad evolved because of these elitist associations. But admiration was also expressed that a Junior Year Abroad

provided the opportunity for students to be immersed in another culture and language. Richard Lambert typifies this admiration when, in his speech at CIEE's 41st Annual Conference, he noted as an obstacle for effective study abroad that most students are engaged for "a relatively brief period of time."²⁴⁷ Lambert was implicitly praising the earlier model of a full year abroad.

Goodwin and Nacht report that when faculty do articulate support for foreign study, it is often support for the junior year immersion model:

Virtually by definition the American institution should not worry about the quality of the education the "immersed" student receives, except that it be the best the foreign country can offer. An authentic experience is the goal. . . . This model of study abroad and variants of it are defended with almost religious zeal by its supporters, who are mainly faculty members and study abroad directors at the institutions of origin. Its most enthusiastic advocates are found especially in prestigious highly selective colleges and universities. . . . Unless students can "engage fully" a foreign culture through access to the language, higher education, and an understanding of their surroundings, they will not be able to comprehend what they see. Their time would be better spent at home.²⁴⁸

Attitudes toward the Junior Year Abroad contradict one another. The model stands on the one hand as an example of high quality; on the other, as a frivolous and elitist

Grand Tour experience for wealthy women uninterested in advancing to a career.

Faculty in host countries have participated in this discursive formation devaluing the Junior Year Abroad. Some have questioned the serious intent of these college juniors, younger than the majority of students at European universities.²⁴⁹ Further, Barbara Burn notes, many professionals -- in U.S. and overseas higher education, in government and foundation positions -- "remain convinced that graduate study abroad is far more important than undergraduate,"²⁵⁰ because undergraduate education, and in particular undergraduate education abroad, does not involve the same focus, goals, or value.²⁵¹ Since U.S. study abroad has been experienced primarily by undergraduates, such value judgments pertain to it as well.

The structure of U.S. study abroad programmes was modified significantly after World War II, with students being offered choices as to the length of study. Since then, the number of students going abroad for a semester or a summer has come to exceed by far the number of students studying abroad for a full academic year.²⁵² These new models have left unchanged expressions of suspicion about the quality of study abroad programmes. As De Winter has stated:

The traditional partner universities in Europe place less emphasis on the results of a particular semester. In fact, there may be almost no work required to receive credit, and credits often do not even exist. European students are expected to study more on their own, in preparation for all-important comprehensive exams after 6 or 10 semesters. American students who enter such a system for just one or two semesters perceive a lighter work load. Unprepared as juniors for highly independent study methods, and distracted by the adjustment to a new environment, they appear to do less "academic" work than their friends back home. Professors, too, may share this perception, looking at study abroad programs as opportunities to get away from campus, with fewer responsibilities and a reduced workload abroad.²⁵³

As the Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad concludes, "Faculty often do not recognize the academic legitimacy of the students' activities abroad."²⁵⁴

One newer programme model has added to this discourse of invalidation. Some researchers have noted that the foreign language skills of American students determine the level at which they may enter a host country's educational system, and foreign language skills have dropped among American students in recent years. John Bowman, summarising studies of foreign language study programme participants, notes: "Eighty-five percent in the 1930s were language majors, 54 percent in the

1950s, 50-66% in the 1970s but only 22% in 1984."²⁵⁵ This declining interest in language study continues to the present.²⁵⁶

This development has had an impact on the perceived quality of study abroad programmes. "The lack of competence in foreign languages on the part of most American undergraduates constitutes a major obstacle to meaningful study abroad in countries whose first language is other than English," writes Barbara Burn. Responding to this problem, educators have established special, separate courses for U.S. students abroad. For example, in CIEE programmes established prior to 1990, three of eight programmes were taught in English. Of the nine programmes established since 1990, seven are taught in English and only two in a host country language (see Appendix A, Table 3.29, CIEE Enrollments by Country, Language, and Programme Span, 1973-92). Continued interest in English language programmes is demonstrated by offerings at Syracuse University, which in the 1960s was one of the first large private universities to become active in study abroad.²⁵⁷ All six study centres operated by Syracuse and open for nationwide enrollment offer an English language track.²⁵⁸ Finally, and most significantly, the survey conducted for the 1997 editions of *Peterson's Study Abroad* and *Peterson's Summer Study*

Abroad demonstrates that 59 percent of all programmes are taught with English as the primary language of instruction.²⁵⁹

While all these efforts have been designed to encourage more American students to study abroad, even given declining domestic enrollments in foreign language studies, English-language programmes have been perceived as weakening the academic quality of offerings overall:

The ability to communicate with people in the host country is critical to gaining an understanding of that country and developing strong on-going relationships with individuals in it . . . Various approaches to study abroad can, however, help overcome the problem such as enrolling students in intensive language programs prior to their departure from the U.S. or on arrival in their host country. An alternative approach, organizing special programs for American students in foreign language countries which are mainly conducted in English and also teach elementary or intermediate skills in the host country's language, has the basic deficiency of insulating the Americans from the local students and culture.²⁶⁰

Efforts to make study abroad appeal to a broader student base have drawn criticism from yet another direction.²⁶¹ By increasing English-language offerings, study abroad coordinators have simultaneously introduced a new discursive practice that sustains disparaging beliefs and confirms the normalised view.

Institutional Issues and Practices

This normalised view systematises with a series of institutional issues and practices reflecting negative views about study abroad.

Goodwin and Nacht, in their study of American faculty interest in international exchange, chronicle many instances of parochialism, distrust, or intellectual arrogance among American faculty.²⁶² They note that professional practices discourage faculty interest, since international education may not contribute toward promotion and tenure and many believe will actually harm professional progress: "Since international travel connotes both wealth and dissipation to many Americans, any overseas experience suggests the danger of incipient if not actual moral decay."²⁶³ Time overseas can disrupt research, funding, and other activities, all affecting academic success.²⁶⁴ Without faculty respect and institutional advocacy, study abroad remains invalidated.

Josef A. Mestenhauser, Director of the Office of Academic Affairs and International Education at the University of Minnesota, states that American faculty rarely respect their colleagues' cross-cultural and international educational skills, feeling often that appointments in the field of international education have

been made in a serendipitous fashion -- because, for example, someone is available locally who has a Ph.D. in some glutted field, not because one has expertise in international education.

Gender and credential evaluation of administrators, some argue, is another discursive component in judgments about study abroad. "We are a female-dominated profession numerically," says Mestenhauser, "but this doesn't mean we are a profession which supports women in senior positions. Because of the serendipitous nature of appointments and peripheral role of international education within higher education, secretaries or lower-level administrators are often promoted to administrative positions, perpetuating the non-academic, 'mother hen' image of international education advisors."²⁶⁵

A 1990 NAFSA survey of its membership helped assess the prestige, visibility, and role of study abroad professionals in the higher education field. In the SECUSSA section, which is the study abroad professional section of NAFSA, the survey demonstrated that the majority of practitioners in the field were women; the majority did not have Ph.D.s; and the majority earned under \$40,000 per year.²⁶⁶ While women may be the majority among administrators in international exchange offices, they rarely wield influence on the senior

faculty and administrators. In 1989 Phi Beta Delta, the national honor society for study abroad participants, canvassed its membership of 2,400 administrators. Of them, 1,357 were women. Of those, only 206 held the title of "director."²⁶⁷ Salary levels, reported in the NAFSA newsletter in 1990, also reflected gender differences: "Reported salaries demonstrate that men earn more than women."²⁶⁸

Even aside from gender connections, figures show that salaries in international education administration do not rank well with those in other administrative areas of higher education. Peter Loew of NAFSA compiled median salary figures, based upon job announcements listed by NAFSA²⁶⁹ from 1991 through 1995:

Entry Level Programme Assistant: \$20,400

Study Abroad Coordinator: \$26,000

Study Abroad Adviser: \$27,000

Foreign Student Adviser: \$26,500

International Programme Director: \$34,250

According to the College and University Personnel Association salary reports for 1996-97, among the 53 categories of academic administrative appointments, only 11 were paid a salary lower than those for positions in

international education, while 79.3 percent were paid more.²⁷⁰ Low salaries reinforce invalidation.

Poorly paid staff in international education offices also suffer from the relatively low support services described earlier in this chapter.²⁷¹ This was exemplified by Carol Lazzeri's Internet posting through SECUSS-L,²⁷² asking for information about the structure of study abroad programmes. She received thirty-one responses, sixteen from private schools and fifteen from public, in a range of size from 500 to 30,000 undergraduates. Among those schools, an average of 3.3 percent of students studied abroad. Fourteen respondents stated that their programme budgets were expected to break even; all expressed a struggle to meet budgetary expectations. "The most interesting (and distressing) results," Lazzeri reported, "were to the questions about the number of full-time equivalent staff in the study abroad office. . . . The average number of professional staff is 2.1, and the average number of support staff is 1.3 in our study abroad offices."²⁷³ These practices systematise and, in Foucault's terms, perpetuate the definition of study abroad as a less significant, lower-quality alternative to study at home.

Funding practices add to this conception. At American institutions, funding is linked to worry over

the loss of home campus tuition when students study abroad. Faculty express worry not only about losing their best students to study abroad, but also about decreased enrollments in their classes.²⁷⁴ Students going overseas through their own campus-operated programmes may pay tuition directly to their home institutions, yet the campus will lose some funds when it pays the cost of the student's overseas experience. Other campuses face the loss of all tuition and fees when students go abroad on programmes not operated by their home campus. Given the financial stress that American higher education has experienced, this loss of tuition has emerged as a critical issue in the field of study abroad²⁷⁵ and a new discursive factor, reinforcing the traditional belief that staying home is better.²⁷⁶

Fears of tuition loss have compounded with budgetary limitations, low salaries, gender- and credential-associated devaluation, and faculty anxieties to further validate domestic education. Associating this view with perceptions that study abroad is a woman's activity and insignificant to academic and professional training, American administrators are empowered to regard domestic education as superior and to minimise support for study abroad. This marginal support, in turn, helps sustain

the belief that this is an insignificant activity,
unworthy of support.

In sum, although early American educators regarded a European education as essential to professional training, discourse from the start affirmed the better quality of domestic over foreign education. This disregard for foreign education found support in the corresponding traditional beliefs that defined study abroad as a European Grand Tour and a Eurocentric liberal arts programme, providing cultural enrichment for wealthy women who hold no professional ambitions. The Junior Year Abroad accrued its negative discursive associations as the curricular offerings of American universities evolved in scope and in the respect they garnered. Efforts to teach study abroad programmes in English, to broaden their appeal and array of offerings overseas, increased skepticism and further marginalised study abroad.

Foucault argues that men govern by instituting practices that reinforce a defining episteme²⁷⁷ -- practices that sustain their visions of themselves,²⁷⁸ define what is acceptable and unacceptable, and support the power of the norm.²⁷⁹ American educators have been empowered with a vision of the superiority of their

institutions over any elsewhere in the world, and that vision marginalises study abroad.

Indeed, this marginalisation is confirmed by each of the traditional beliefs described in this chapter, both individually and as they rationalise together. It is sustained with common themes within the beliefs that create a dominating vision, systematising to cross that "threshold of epistemologization"²⁸⁰ that generates an episteme:

- Women are cultural guardians; therefore, their education is focused on cultural training not the world of work.
- The curriculum of study abroad is liberal arts study.
- Liberal arts education, when pursued by women, is done so to train them as handmaidens, not for a professional life.
- Women do not have serious academic interests or professional training interests and since they predominate in study abroad, study abroad must not offer these opportunities.
- Study abroad is a Grand Tour, pursued by wealthy women who can afford the tuition at the wealthy liberal arts institutions that

organising study programmes; therefore foreign education is lacking in significant functional purpose, since these women, by definition, do not train for the world of work.

- The Grand Tour, associated with a European tradition of travel by the wealthy, means a Eurocentric curriculum and European locations often support less than serious study programmes.
- Serious education in the twentieth century and after -- education offering strong academic and professional preparation training -- is to be found in domestic, not foreign, institutions, because of the superior curriculum and structure of American universities.
- Study abroad is not worthy of substantial support within higher education because it does not meet the needs of the majority of students, who are seeking the academic and professional training best offered domestically.

These themes, persistent in the discourse of the academy, as this chapter has described, gave rise to the statements, or traditional beliefs, which together produced and have sustained an episteme according little

respect to the academic quality or significant function of an education abroad.

Conclusion

For Michel Foucault, the purpose of inquiry is to contextualise from its fields of discourse the foundations of an episteme, revealing the discursive circumstances that generated it and exposing the power it endows.²⁸¹ This has been the task of this chapter. Adapting Foucault's concept of archaeological investigation, this chapter demonstrates that the domestic community was and remains empowered by a constellation of traditional beliefs which systematise to constitute a devaluing episteme and abnormalise study abroad as academically weak and without significant functional, particularly professional preparation, purpose.

These traditional beliefs emerged from their discourse fields, associating with perceptions about the American mission, the quality of American education and the nature of its curriculum, the role of women, and an ongoing egalitarianism²⁸² to devalue study abroad. As the thematic summary suggests, these traditional beliefs reinforce and sustain one another: study abroad is a European Grand Tour for wealthy women who pursue the

Eurocentric liberal arts study in academically weak programmes for purposes of cultural pursuit devoid of serious academic or professional preparation intent. Grounded in the discourse of historical circumstance, such beliefs endow domestic education with the power of normalcy and the respect and resource allocation that thereby accrue. They marginalise foreign education, which exists outside the norm and is thus regarded as unworthy of institutional support.

Traditional beliefs about study abroad are the inverse of the normalisation of domestic education. In a nation energised by a vision of its mission to grow to greatness in the world, educational institutions became partners in its 'manifest destiny.'²⁸³ The energy and vision within American institutions -- from the start dubious about Europe, even if dependent upon it to educate leaders -- gave rise to a revolution in higher education, generating a new and sometimes uniquely American curriculum, grounded in the need to train men to solve the problems of the nation.²⁸⁴ The emergence of the universities and the respect accorded them by the culture produced the rejection of Europe as the necessary site for education. Men stayed at home -- and at home, men from many walks of life had access to higher education. Egalitarianism spread, if not to gender, at least to

social class. By the end of the nineteenth century, the tradition of male European study abroad had ended, and the European experience was relegated to women who sought culture and social status through an elitist Grand Tour tradition. This tradition was anathema to the emerging domestic philosophy of education and America's vision of itself as a truly 'New World.'

It was within this cultural context that modern study abroad programmes emerged after World War I. Offering training through the liberal curriculum, the academic content of study abroad returned to colonial and early nineteenth-century forms of education -- training grounded in liberal study. Its female constituency was perceived as frivolous, certainly not the audience for whom the new developments in domestic education were intended to serve. And the institutions most frequently supporting it -- the private women's colleges -- were viewed in the traditional discourse as secondary, because they were not training men for a public life.

Study abroad programmes, created most frequently by the private and expensive women's colleges, offered a Eurocentric liberal curriculum. They appeared to turn their backs to the new pride and excitement about the quality of American education and instead sent students to Europe. In summary, these programmes, so avidly

supported by the institutions that created them, flew in the face of America's vision of itself and its educational system. The traits that were perceived to define the programmes, through discursive association, condemned them. The episteme devaluing study abroad as academically weak and without a professional training function emerged, clear and unchallenged by any powerful, normalised voice.

Chapter One identified the hopes articulated by policy makers that study abroad would become central to the mission of American education, not continue to function at its periphery. Yet study abroad continues to play a marginal role, suggesting that study abroad has not yet found support from the empowered domestic community.

For Foucault, the consequence of archaeology is the possibility that new discourse might lead to epistemic mutation and the reallocation of power.²⁸⁵ Such a reallocation of power is the goal of policy makers, who wish their voices to be heeded. Yet the power endowed by traditional beliefs affects individuals' lives,²⁸⁶ namely academic sponsors and participants of study abroad. The faculty and administrators who have supported study abroad programmes and the students who have participated in them have been disenfranchised by the status quo, the

value they might perceive for their experience left unacknowledged. Their alternative discourses about the nature of an education outside domestic boundaries challenges the national vision, and their voices are diminished or excluded by the normative power endowed by the episteme. Chapter Four will explore their alternative discourses, to identify the beliefs they manifest about the nature and value of study abroad.

Endnotes, Chapter Three

1. See Chapter Four for a full definition of the term 'functional' as it is used in this thesis. In sum, American education has been function-driven, conceived to train educated citizens capable of contributing to the work of the nation and its development (Ernest L. Boyer and Fred M. Hechinger, *Higher Learning in the Nation's Service* [Washington: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1981], vii-viii; John S. Brubacher, *On The Philosophy of Higher Education*, rev. ed. [San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1982], 4).
2. Philip Barker, *Michel Foucault, An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 66-67.
3. Edward Chancey, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985).
4. As defined in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, 3rd edition (1973).
5. Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 1.
6. R. A. McNeal, *Nicholas Biddle in Greece: The Journals and Letters of 1806* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 26.
7. Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967), 3.
8. Trease, *Grand Tour*, 213.
9. McNeal, *Nicholas Biddle*, 26.
10. Gertrude Stein, *Paris and France* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1940), 2.
11. William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).
12. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 64.
13. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 180-194.
14. Asa Briggs and Barbara Burn, *Study Abroad: A European and an American Perspective, Organization and Impact of Study Abroad* (Paris: European Institute of Education and Social Policy, 1985), 5.
15. John E. Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad: The Development of Study Abroad Programs by American Colleges and Universities* (New York: CIEE Occasional Papers, series no. 24, 1987), 13.

-
16. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 35.
 17. Craufurd D. Goodwin and Michael Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond: Patterns in American Overseas Education* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 5.
 18. Ibid., 10.
 19. Ibid.
 20. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Modern Library, 1934), chap. 2.
 21. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 5.
 22. Archer M. Brown, "U.S. Students Abroad," in Hugh M. Jenkins and Associates, *Educating Students from Other Nations* (San Francisco, Washington, London: Jossey-Bass, 1983), 72.
 23. Lily Von Klemperer, oral history interview by Tom Roberts, sponsored by NAFSA: Association of International Educators, spring 1990.
 24. Brown, "U.S. Students Abroad," 74. Elsewhere (p. 72) Brown writes: "United States students who study abroad are not fulfilling a governmental development objective. Nor, in most cases, are they motivated by the necessity to gain special technical knowledge not available in the United States. Nor are they reflecting their institution's commitment to international education. Nor, finally, do they believe that study abroad will contribute to their immediate career development or long-term professional goals (see President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, 1979, page 128; Henson, 1979; Hull, Lemke, and Houang, 1977)."
 25. The "International 50 report" refers to David C. Engerman and Parker G. Marden, *In the International Interest: The Contributions and Needs of America's International Liberal Arts Colleges* (Beloit, Wisc.: The International Liberal Arts Colleges, 1992). Formed in 1991 at the instigation of Beloit College in Wisconsin, the International 50 is an *ad hoc* group of U.S. liberal arts colleges joined by a common commitment to international education. They represent those liberal arts schools throughout the United States most often associated with undergraduate study abroad. Member institutions share features that show their commitment, such as: study abroad programmes with significant participation; alumni earning a doctorate in a foreign language; students entering the Peace Corps; and international students on campus (Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 23, 69). Over one-third of all students at International 50 schools experience some type of international education before completing the baccalaureate (Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 40-43). In 1990, these fifty colleges sent 7,131 students to 466 different study abroad programmes. The International 50 have maintained statistical profiles of study abroad participation since the organisation's inception in the early 1990s, contributing useful information about national trends and motivations for the support of foreign study.

26. Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 41.

27. *Educating for Global Competence: The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange* (New York: CIEE, August 1988), 8.

28. *Educating for Global Competence*, 9.

29. Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate, A Special Report* (Washington: American Council on Education), 3.

30. As Table 3.1 demonstrates, the remaining 34 percent included "their desire to grow independently"; 19 percent included "their career interests"; and three percent included "their desire to find a more supportive educational environment than they experienced at home."

31. In 1922 the University of Delaware began what is now the oldest ongoing study abroad programme in U.S. higher education history. Organised to send students to Paris to study, the Delaware programme operated until the onset of World War II, when it was suspended. Briefly, after World War II, the Delaware programme resumed in Switzerland, but then Delaware discontinued its activity in study abroad and the programme was re-established at a new location, Sweet Briar College in Virginia, from which it has operated through the rest of the twentieth century.

From its earliest years on, administrators of the Delaware/Sweet Briar programme have maintained excellent enrollment records, better than any for other programmes. The archives of the University of Delaware house and catalogue documents and correspondence pertaining to the organisation, representing all programmes and ongoing operations until their suspension in the 1940s. The archives include files kept in the Foreign Study Office of the University of Delaware for the life of the programme and files saved from the University's Paris office in 1948. Once it adopted the programme, Sweet Briar College continued to keep and collate all enrollment records.

The archives also include printed reports and bulletins, operations and correspondence files, correspondence between the University and institutions enrolling students, and correspondence between programme students and the office (John M. Clayton, Jr., *Foreign Study Plan Records, 1922-1948: An Inventory* [University of Delaware Archives, March 16, 1970], 5-7). These materials offer both official administrative records and more informal, anecdotal accounts of programme development and enrollment policies over the years.

Further, the Delaware/Sweet Briar programme offers excellent alumni records, maintained over a long period of time. The 902 students who attended the University of Delaware study abroad programme (including 786 in Paris) established an alumni organisation, whose publications and documents are also housed in the University archives (Clayton, *Foreign Study Plan Records*, 4). This organisation maintained an alumni directory and developed some student profiles, based on questions appropriate to the pre-World War II environment in higher education. The archives also include catalogued letters and diaries of some participants, several oral history interviews with early participants, and a video copy of a sixteen-millimeter film describing the earliest times of the programme.

Sweet Briar College has continued to maintain a comprehensive and up-to-date programme alumni data base. Since 1974, Sweet Briar has produced periodic publications for programme alumni: *The JYF Alumni Newsletter*, followed by the *Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Alumni Magazine*. These publications document the development of the programme as well as the activities of alumni to some extent. The Junior Year in France has also organised alumni surveys over the years, and data from them have been reported in the alumni publications (Emile Langlois, interview, Sweet Briar, Va., 25 April 1994).

Considering the unusually complete study abroad alumni data base maintained by Sweet Briar College, it was determined that another body of information could be developed to examine U.S. study abroad by building upon existing records. Thus in 1995, for the purpose of this thesis, a survey was designed to elicit from Sweet Briar study abroad alumni statistical and written testimony about their motives for participating in the programme. (See Appendix B, Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, 1995: Questionnaire.)

Between academic years 1948-49 and 1993-94, Sweet Briar enrolled 4,844 students (3,571 women; 1,273 men) in its Junior Year in France programme (Emile Langlois, Computer Analysis and Summary of Junior Year in France Groups, July 1994). To survey this group, the technique chosen was systematic sampling -- randomly selecting the first case and then every 'kth' case thereafter (Joseph F. Healey, *Statistics: A Tool for Social Research*, 3rd ed. [Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1993], 144). In this survey, every fifth name thereafter, or twenty percent of the total Sweet Briar alumni group was considered. In the construction of the survey, questions were grouped together to ensure ease and speed of answering and focus of attention in respondents. University faculty read the questionnaire before dissemination to ensure question clarity and adequate scope of coverage. Of the 969 surveys mailed, 206 (or 21 percent) were returned -- a low response rate by social science standards. If implemented correctly, the Total Design Method (TDM) can produce response rates of 70 percent and higher (Don Dillman, *Mail and Telephone Surveys: The Total Design Method* [New York: John Wiley, 1978]). TDM is costly, however, and budget and time constraints, as well as limitations in access to Sweet Briar alumni, precluded its use. Nevertheless, results from this survey can be used descriptively, to amplify the already rich body of information available about the motivations of students and sponsors associated with this programme and to extend the statistical portrait available from other sources.

Survey results are presented in percentages of all possible answers given, rather than in percentages of the total number of survey respondents, unless otherwise indicated.

32. These alumni could have chosen alternative answers that reflected foreign language learning capabilities and educational opportunities for experimentation and growth.

33. Richard D. Lambert, "Study Abroad: Where We Are, Where We Should Be," in *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference on International Educational Exchange* (Cannes, France, November 1988), 13.

34. William Hoffa, John Pearson, and Marvin Slind, *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators*, 2nd ed.

(Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1997), ix-x.

35. Richard D. Lambert, "Language Policy: An International Perspective," NFLC Occasional Papers, National Foreign Language Center (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1990), 7.

36. Jacques Steinberg, "Parlez-vous Français? But Why Bother?," *New York Times*, 27 December 1998, WK-3.

37. Ibid.

38. *Educating for Global Competence*, 9.

39. Ibid., 13.

40. *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task, Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad* (Washington: NAFSA: Association for International Educators, May 1990), 6.

41. "Undergraduate Scholarships 1994-1995 Competition Cycle Summary Report" in the *Report on NSEP Undergraduate Allocations* (Washington: Institute of International Education, National Security Education Program, 1994). The National Security Education Program (NSEP), established in 1991 as a trust fund in the U.S. Treasury with the passage of the National Security Education Act. It was designed to fund international education through scholarships, fellowships, and grants, including scholarships for U.S. undergraduates studying in non-Western European world regions and in disciplines not frequently studied overseas (*NSEP: Undergraduate Scholarships for Study Abroad Preparing for the Future* [New York: Institute of International Education, 1994], opening page). The first round of undergraduate scholarships was awarded in the spring/summer of 1994 for the 1994-95 academic year. NSEP produced an analysis of its applicants: who they were, where they were going, and what they wanted to study. This information can aid in understanding whether geographical venue, academic focus, and financial aid effects the gender balance of participants in U.S. study abroad or contributes significantly to growth in participation, again especially when this data is coupled with that traditionally provided by the Institute of International Education and examined in light of the other new resources developed for this thesis. The NSEP goal is to "encourage study of languages and cultures in a wider ranges of countries outside Western Europe and Canada" (Institute of International Education, "National Security Education Program, Undergraduate Scholarships, 1994-1995," *Competition Cycle Summary Report* [Washington, 1995]).

42. In the mid-1990s, the Council on International Educational Exchange surveyed international education administrators at 1,500 schools in the United States, seeking to ascertain the scope and nature of institutional support for study abroad activities. The goals of this Study Abroad Baseline Survey were threefold: to understand how international educators perceived trends about student study abroad interests through the turn of the century; to create a profile of current college and university administrators involved in study abroad; and to identify the current structure of international education offices.

This researcher helped in the construction of the mailing list, to ensure that the survey reached senior international education administrators, and contributed to the design of questions, to ensure full coverage of issues pertinent to international education administrators and to study abroad development. The mailing list was created by evaluating and merging lists from CIEE, from NAFSA: Association of International Educators, and from the Association of International Education Administrators. Questions were grouped to ensure ease of answering and focus of attention by the respondent; university faculty read the survey before dissemination to ensure question clarity and adequate scope of coverage. The questionnaire was designed to be quickly answered, to maintain respondent interest. In all, 276 questionnaires were returned. Results were presented in average weighted responses to the questions and in summary of all responses to each question.

Results of this Baseline Survey contribute significantly to this thesis in two ways. First, the survey results help identify beliefs held among higher education faculty and international education administrators about study abroad today. Second, survey results provide important information on the extent to which higher education institutions view study abroad offices as central to their missions or, alternatively, as marginal educational (Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad Baseline Survey* [New York, 1996], 1-2).

43. Todd Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97: Report on International Exchange* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1997). The only consistent efforts to identify the number and type of U.S. students going abroad can be found in the surveys conducted annually for the past forty years by the Institute of International Education and published in *Open Doors* as reports on foreign student enrollments in higher education institutions. The single most important source of statistical data, annual reports by the Institute of International Education, have self-identified flaws (Council on International Educational Exchange, "Analyzing the 1991-92 Open Doors Survey: Are We There Yet?," *Council on International Educational Exchange Update* 16, no. 2 (March 1994), 7), yet since IIE has been the only regular public reporting source about nationwide study abroad activity, its data have been accepted by the higher education community. No other publicly reported data on study abroad activity represent the broad U.S. higher education community, nor has any available statistical information ever been evaluated or interpreted by being coupled with extensive historical analysis. IIE reports have established the standard statistical profile, defining who goes where to study what for the higher education community. As the primary descriptor of study abroad in the United States, IIE has provided an important strand of discourse in the emergence and sustenance of traditional belief. IIE holds a formative position among policy makers, too, since not only does it publish the standard statistical reference but it also, as an institution, supports and contributes to building policy.

IIE began its first serious effort to collect statistics on U.S. students abroad in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Sara J. Steen, ed., *Academic Year Abroad 1992-93* [New York: Institute of International Education, 1993], 423). Unfortunately, surveys of foreign institutions to determine if they hosted U.S. students brought a low response rate at that time. Additionally, IIE ignored

U.S. students abroad who registered in study abroad programmes specially organised by U.S. institutions, likely a majority.

In its second effort in the later 1970s, IIE tried to gather information from directors of U.S.-sponsored study abroad programmes, but again it received a low response rate. Furthermore, this IIE survey ignored those students enrolled directly in overseas programmes and those enrolled in programmes operated by overseas host institutions. It also apparently did not identify students receiving credit at their home universities for studies abroad. All in all, the IIE survey results from the late 1970s did not provide a reliable picture.

Since 1980, IIE has attempted to improve its survey techniques, working in conjunction with research partners from the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO) and NAFSA: Association of International Educators to portray more accurately who is going abroad from the United States, where they go, and what they study (SECUSS-L survey initiated by William Hoffa of SECUSS, NAFSA: Association of International Educators, on SECUSS-L listserv, 30 November 1993). Beginning with the 1985-86 academic year, IIE devised a new system, sending surveys to U.S. institutions of higher education to acquire information about students receiving academic credit following study abroad. IIE's 1989-90 survey (for publication in its 1992-93 publications) was sent to a smaller group. Survey recipients were limited to those schools known to have students in overseas programmes -- a list agreed upon in consultation with the International Education Data Collection Committee, part of its co-researching organisations. While IIE can state that the methodology "offers the most comprehensive data on a major sector of the study abroad population, and the first comparative data for determining patterns in the evolution of study abroad," at the same time the organisation recognises that "the figures presented . . . give a conservative picture of study abroad activity" (Steen, *Academic Year Abroad 1992-93*, 423-424).

While IIE statistics have been the primary source of research information on U.S. study abroad, Joyce Randolph, Director of the Office of International Programs at the University of Pennsylvania, makes recommendations for improving them in the future (Council on International Educational Exchange, "Analyzing," 7). Criticisms include the lack of statistical distinction between undergraduate and graduate study abroad and the number of institutions of higher education which do not receive the survey (SECUSS-L, Survey). The contribution made by IIE to information about study abroad activity in the U.S. is unquestioned. Nonetheless, developing other statistical sources to evaluate study abroad may well create a more complete statistical base from which to analyse activity and identify motives.

44. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 65.

45. Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 3; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University, A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 334.

46. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 3rd ed. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 2-3.

-
47. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.
 48. Veysey, *Emergence*, 125-130.
 49. Ivan Putnam, ed., *Study Abroad: A Handbook of Advisers and Administrators* (Washington: National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, 1979), 1.
 50. Veysey, *Emergence*, 130.
 51. Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press), 17.
 52. *Ibid.*, 18-19.
 53. Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 134-135.
 54. Veysey, *Emergence*, , 131. Also see Chapter Four of this thesis.
 55. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 12. Beginning with the passage of the Morrill Act, which provided federal funding to develop institutions to serve the national need and gave access to education to new classes, this democratisation of education continued throughout the twentieth century, spurred mid-century by the GI bill, which opened the opportunity to attend college to every World War II veteran and established for their families the tradition of college attendance (Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 10-15).
 58. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.
 59. Solomon, *In the Company*, 63-64.
 60. Bowman, *Educating*, 13-14.
 61. John A. Munroe, interview, 7 February 1994.
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. See Chapter One for a definition of the 'Junior Year Abroad.'
 64. Francis M. Rogers, *American Juniors on the Left Bank* (Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1958), 10. Other models of study abroad occasionally emerged, though they did not develop as the primary model for educating undergraduates abroad. Short-term programmes and educational tours continued. For example, see *The Sixth Annual Floating University World Voyage* (New York: University Travel Association, 1936), 5; "American Assistants in French Lycees," *School and Society* 18 (25 October 1923), 497-498; "Vacation Courses for Foreigners in French Universities," *School and Society* 20 (August 1924), 247-248; "Educational: American Students at Oxford University," *School and Society* 21 (10 June 1925), 40-41).

Some non-study activities were practised, such as volunteer projects abroad offered by institutions like Syracuse University and Princeton before World War I (William Hoffa, SECUSS-L Discussion List, History Project email network discussion, 14 April 2000. This history is sponsored by NAFSA: The Association of International Educators and is being developed utilising the SECUSS-L network list as a resource for collecting data. William Hoffa is the author of the pending history).

One of the more interesting alternative models to develop, emulating in some ways the Junior Year Abroad model, was the Shipboard Education model. James Edwin Lough, Dean of the Extramural Division of New York University, conceived of a programme in which students would travel worldwide, via ship, over the course of an academic semester or year, taking academic courses taught by faculty from American colleges and universities (Paul Liebhardt, "The History of Shipboard Education," *Steamboat Bill*, Number 227, Vol. LV, No. 3 [Fall 1998], 175-178). The first voyage occurred in 1926 (*ibid.*, 178), with six subsequent voyages occurring, under varying organisational auspices, until 1936 (*ibid.*, 178-180). In some ways, the shipboard model emulated features of the Junior Year Abroad model: courses were offered for undergraduate students ("The College Cruise Around the World," University Travel Association, 1928, 2). Commitment to academic quality was expressed through the appointment of advisory boards composed of leading American educators, including presidents emeriti or deans from a number of American higher education institutions (*Sixth Annual Floating*, foreword, 4-5). Faculty from American colleges and universities taught courses on the ship -- courses in the liberal arts (Liebhardt, 173-180; Henry J. Allen, *Student Magellan* [New York: Stanley D. Woodard, 1927], 6-7. The *Student Magellan* was the official yearbook for the 1926 voyage, found among uncatalogued documents in the archives of the Institute for Shipboard Education: Semester at Sea, University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and provided to this researcher by Paul Watson, Director for Enrollment Management, Institute for Shipboard Education, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Penna.). Lough expressly stated the goals for the programme were not to offer "a mere sightseeing trip but a college year of educational travel and systematic study; to develop an interest in foreign affairs; to train students to think in world terms; and to strengthen international understanding and goodwill" (Allen, *Student Magellan*, 5).

This model diverged in many ways from the Sorbonne model, which established the prototypical structure for the first junior year programmes. This was not a programme offered by an accredited academic institution. Though initially Lough sought and received sponsorship from New York University (Liebhardt, 178), NYU withdrew its support before the first voyage. Many on the faculty at New York University were suspicious of the idea of a floating university (*ibid.*, 78). Indeed Lough was fired from New York University when he returned from his first voyage (*ibid.*, 78). While documentary material states the programme received a charter from the New York Department of Education to operate a university on ship (*ibid.*, 78), this cannot be confirmed today in the Department of Education's records (Sherry Seyffer, New York State Department of Education, Albany New York, interview, 13 April 2000). Students might apply to their home universities to be awarded credit for the work done on board ship but the programme, itself, could not award credit (*Sixth Annual Floating*, 9; "The College Cruise Around the World" [n.p.:

University Travel Association, 1928], 34). The programme was open to any student in preparatory school (pre-college level), any undergraduate, or any graduate student, regardless of academic abilities (ibid., 9). The cruise was open to non-students as well, who were offered "General Lectures" (ibid., 9). Parents and others were invited "to join to see the world in a leisurely manner and listen in on any of the lectures in which they are interested" ("College Cruise Around the World," 6). The cruise was very costly: \$2500 to \$3700 for the year (ibid., 43), explained as "necessarily somewhat higher than the cost of the average World Cruise, but very considerably less than the combined costs for attending land universities and an extensive world tour" (*Sixth Annual Floating*, 5). The cruise was advertised in popular literature, sometimes in conjunction with vacation travel advertising (*Time Magazine* advertisement, "College Cruise Round the World" [magazine advertisement], *Time* 9:20 [16 May 1927], 35). In its first few years, at least, the cruise was advertised for men only (*Time* advertisement; Watson, correspondence, 13 April 2000), but when an insufficient number of men signed up, it was opened to women (Watson, correspondence, 13 April 2000). Thus, of the 504 students on board, the first cruise in 1926, this programme experienced a very different ratio from that typically seen in modern study abroad programmes: 4:1, with males in the majority (Watson, correspondence, 12 April 2000, reporting archival material developed from a reunion of alumni from the 1926 voyage, 18 September 1976, Queen Mary Hotel, Long Beach, Calif.) (Documents confirming gender ratios on other cruises are not included in the archival material; the organisation sponsoring the trips no longer exists; and searches are ongoing currently to supplement existing records).

Some traits of this programme did reflect the emergence of the modern study abroad Sorbonne model. Many traits reflected the concept of the Grand Tour described in this chapter, however, including the cruise's association with wealth, leisure, culture, and extensive travel. Its structure reflected the description John Bowman gave to the remnants of the male Grand Tour tradition, carried on by the sons of wealthy men, referred to earlier in this chapter (Bowman, *Educating*, 13-14). The cruise was advertised in popular journalistic publications and stories about it were reported in the popular press (Liebhardt, "History," 178), so its existence was part of the broader public discourse contributing to the image of education overseas.

Nonetheless, the cruise did not fit the academic model of modern study abroad that emerged after World War I. It was rejected as a model for credit-bearing sponsorship by an American higher education institution. And this model did not enter the discourse about study abroad that evolved within the higher education community after World War II. For example, there is no mention of this programme model in the only history of study abroad to date, Bowman's *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, or other historical summaries, for example, Mary Elizabeth Conway Gwin's *Study Abroad Advising* (1985). References by leading international educators to the history of study abroad in the United States, described in this chapter, make no reference to this model. William Hoffa, author of the SECUSS-L history project, reported only passing reference to the programme in materials collected for the project (Hoffa, email network discussion, 11-14 April 2000).

This model did re-emerge in the 1960s and eventually became 'Semester at Sea' (Liebhardt, "History," 173). In its contemporary

form, however, the programme has followed the modern study abroad format, seeking affiliation with an accredited academic institution (Liebhardt, "History," 180-186) and imposing academic requirements for admission to the programme, designed for college level undergraduates (see programme website at URL <http://www.semesteratsea.com>). Enrollment Manager Paul Watson confirms that the gender ratio among participants in the Semester at Sea Program now consistently reflects the gender ratio in modern study abroad programmes, with women routinely two-thirds of the enrollment annually (Watson, correspondence, 13 April 2000).

As part of the history project sponsored by NAFSA: Association of International Educators, conducted in part through a Secuss-L data collection project and described elsewhere in this thesis, project author William Hoffa compiled the most thorough list to date of all education-related activities abroad. Dr. Hoffa's effort is to gather a broad range of data describing activities extending beyond study abroad: "the broader scope of my work is 'education abroad' in all of its manifestations, so I am also trying to learn about American student participation in experiential programs -- e.g., volunteerism, work projects, internships, etc. -- which are organized in the U.S. or overseas but do not necessarily result in the award of credit."

The majority of these efforts do not include the junior year abroad model that entered the discourse about study abroad. They do include non-credit-bearing activities such as volunteer programs, non-accredited programs, and study travel tours. This list includes, as well, American and other national efforts to establish special programmes, not necessarily as sites for American students, and describes the other study abroad models discussed in this endnote.

Dr. Hoffa's list is as follows:

Academic Activities prior to World War II:

1866: American University in Beirut (dates at which American students first entered unknown)

1882: Indiana University sponsors "Tramp Cruise" for students (credit award status unknown)

1898: "Princeton in Asia" (volunteer programme)

1905: Center for Study Abroad-Fudan University programme in Chinese language and culture begins

1910: London School of Economics begins the "General Course" (one-year, for non-degree graduate students from other countries); American-Scandinavian Foundation founded

1917: Mozarteum International Summer Academy, Salzburg, Austria begins; Siena University per Stranieri, Italy, begins; "Workcamps" in Europe started

1918: University of Paris (Sorbonne) begins special courses for foreigners ("Cours de civilization"; see this chapter for further information)

1919: American University in Cairo founded (date of American enrollment as yet unidentified)

1920 or 1931, date unconfirmed: College
International de Cannes, France

1921-22: University of Vienna begins Summer and
Academic Year courses ("Wiener International
Hochschulkurse")

1922-23: Cambridge University begins Summer Term
(for foreigners)

1923-24: University of Delaware programme in Paris
begins (JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION)

1924-25: Marymount program in Paris begins (JUNIOR
YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION, seven female students in
initial enrollment)

1925-26: Smith programme in Paris begins (JUNIOR
YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION); Rosary College programme
in Fribourg, Switzerland begins (JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD
INSTITUTION, four students); University of
Heidelberg begins summer courses for foreigners;
American School of Classical Studies at Athens
founded

1926-27: "World University Cruise" (see above, in
this endnote)

1927-28: Committee on the Junior Year Abroad
founded by the Institute of International
Education, led by Stephen Duggan and including the
presidents of the University of Delaware and Smith
College

1930-31: Marymount programme in Italy (Rome) begins
(JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION); Smith programme
in Spain (Madrid) begins (suspended 1936; JUNIOR
YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION)

1931-32: Smith programme in Florence begins;
Courtauld Institute of Art (London, for
postgraduates)

1932-33: Experiment in International Living founded
by Donald Watt (summer programme, family stay);
University of Delaware begins Germany programme (in
Munich, discontinued as a Delaware-sponsored
programme in 1934, JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION);
Banff Centre for the Arts, Canada, summer programme
begins; Marymount programme in Rome begins (JUNIOR
YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION)

1934-35: "Delaware" programme in Munich continues
under sponsorship of an independent committee until
1938-39, when it operated for a year in Switzerland
before being discontinued until after the war.

1936-37: Smith founds programme in Mexico as alternative to Madrid (JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION); suspended the next year.

1938-39: University of Delaware begins programme in Switzerland (JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD INSTITUTION)

1939-40: all Europe programmes canceled; Indiana University offers an alternative programme in education studies in Mexico

(William W. Hoffa, SECUSS-L Discussion List, History Project e-mail network discussion, 9 August 2000.)

65. Delfor Alumni Association, Foreign Study Plan Records, 1922-48. Box H52 (AR 52) (AR 96) Folder 16231, 33/0/8, University of Delaware Archives. Delfor Alumni Address list from Group I, 1923-24, through Group XVII, 1939-40.

66. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.

67. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 35.

68. Rosary College, *The Rosary College Foreign Study Plan*, River Forest, Ill., March 1947, no. 1. In the Archives of the University of Delaware: Rosary College General, Folder 4181AR64, 33/0/3 General Correspondence, Box H20.

69. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 216; Barker, *Foucault*, 66-67; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 194. Ralph Cohen, interview, 1 September 1999.

70. Junior Year Abroad study destinations before the onset of World War II in 1939 in Europe were all European, with the brief and unsustained exception of the Smith University effort in Mexico, described in endnote 64, above:

University of Delaware: France, Germany, then Switzerland

Marymount: France, Italy

Smith: France, Spain, Italy

Rosary: Switzerland

See Bowman, *Educating*, 14. See also Patricia Olmsted, "Sixty Years of Study Abroad: A Backward Glance at the Profession," paper prepared for NAFSA Conference, Long Beach, Calif., May 1987.

71. Bowman, *Educating*, 14.

72. Barbara Burn, *Expanding the International Dimensions of Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), 1.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Gilbert Roy, University of Virginia faculty member and a CIEE China Consortium member active in the development and administration of undergraduate programmes in China, notes his serendipitous introduction to the Chinese language. As a young member of the military, Roy was told that he had a choice of two or three different institutions to attend, with different languages taught at each. Yale appealed to him because it was near his girlfriend, near his home, and offered Chinese. Thus he began a path toward an academic career that has included the establishment of U.S. study abroad

programmes in China -- a very personal example of how the U.S. political agenda bears an impact on the shape of U.S. study abroad (Gilbert Roy, interview, 23 July 1994).

75. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 137. This report did not distinguish undergraduate from graduate students, so the percentage of undergraduates at non-Western European sites is likely to be slightly less (though not significantly, since 93 percent of the population reported is undergraduate). See Chapter One.

76. Ibid., 136-137.

77. Lawrence Levine and Margaret Byrne, *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 86.

78. Foucault, *Discipline*, 183.

79. Ibid.

80. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 153-154; Paul Desruisseaux, "15% Rise in American Students Abroad Shows Popularity of Non-European Destinations," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 December 1999, A60. Also see Chapter Four of this thesis. The 'College Cruise' programmes described above were not, it should be remembered, part of the modern study abroad credit-bearing programmes which evolved after World War I, nor were women often encouraged to participate in them.

81. The National Foreign Language Center, with support from major foundations, publishes monographs with an eye to improving foreign language teaching and research (Richard D. Brecht and Jennifer L. Robinson, "Qualitative Analysis of Second Language Acquisition in Study Abroad: The ACTR-NFLC Project," National Foreign Language Center and University of Maryland, 1993), so Lambert, as NFLC director and author of such publications, can be presumed to recognise and reflect predominant views in the American higher education community, and in particular the foreign language teaching community.

82. Lambert, "Study Abroad," 14.

83. Emile Langlois, interview, Sweet Briar, Va., 17 February 1993.

84. Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., and Wayne J. Urban, *American Education: A History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

85. Jolene Koester, *A Profile of U.S. Students Abroad -- 1984 and 1985* (New York: Council on International Exchange, 1987), 114.

86. Martin Hogan, e-mail communication, 23 April 1997.

87. Syracuse University Division of International Programs Abroad, *Study Abroad* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1993), 2.

88. Bowman, *Educating*, 23.

89. Lore L. Heath, correspondence, 21 June 1993.

-
90. R. Robert Pace, *The Junior Year in France: An Evaluation of the University of Delaware-Sweet Briar College Program* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press), 1959.
91. Ibid., 14.
92. Institute of International Education website: URL <http://www.opendoorsweb.org>, viewed 7 December 1999.
93. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 52.
94. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.
95. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 39.
96. Stephen Cooper and Mary Anne Grant, "The Demographics of Education Abroad," in William Hoffa, ed., *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators* (New York: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1993), 90.
97. SECUSS-L, ongoing e-mail discussion, 27 February through 4 March 1997, initiated by William Hoffa of Academic Consultants International and hosted by SECUSS-L, the U.S. study abroad adviser listserv.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Solomon, *In the Company*, 11-12.
104. Rudolph, *American College*, 309.
105. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 63-68.
106. Rudolph, *American College*, 328, quoting from Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York: The Science Press, 1929), vol. 2, 150.
107. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 147.
108. Solomon, *In the Company*, 83.
109. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 97 n10. Horowitz also refers to M. Carey Thomas' famous rejoinder, "The Bryn Mawr Woman," reprinted in Barbara M. Cross, *The Educated Woman in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965), 139-144.
110. Solomon, *In the Company*, 95. See Chapter Four for a discussion of the goals articulated by women attending college in the nineteenth

century. While the culture did not approve of education for women, the presumption about those attending school was that they were hard working and academically serious. (Solomon, 68; Horowitz, 37)

111. Ibid., 95-97.

112. Ibid., 157-159.

113. Ibid., 159.

114. Ibid., 170.

115. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 39.

116. *A National Mandate*, 2.

117. Renamed the Council on International Educational Exchange in 1966.

118. Bowman, *Educating*, 18.

119. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 10, 75-77.

120. Sara Grimes, "World Class: The Leading Personality in International Exchange Pulls No Punches," *Massachusetts*, Winter 1994, 13.

121. William Hoffa, John Pearson, and Marvin Slind, *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators* (Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1993), 39.

122. In 1995 this researcher, on behalf of the Council on International Educational Exchange, commissioned and designed a survey conducted by a group of students at the Darden Graduate School of Business of the University of Virginia. The purpose of the survey was to consider student motivations for participating in undergraduate study abroad and to examine views on study abroad held by students who did not participate. The study collected data domestically and internationally, resulting in completed questionnaires representing 1,200 students at two hundred colleges and universities. Of those, 689 were collected from students at European study abroad programme sites and 489 from students on 124 campuses in the U.S. (Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study: Motivations for Study Abroad," Charlottesville, Va.: Darden School of Graduate Business Studies, University of Virginia, May 1996). The intent was to profile students who had chosen to study abroad as well as those who had chosen not to (Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," i-ii). Within the United States, of the 300 students currently registered at the domestic universities who received questionnaires, 225 students responded. Additional questionnaires were returned either through a special survey conducted on the University of Virginia campus (150 returned, no response rate indicated) or by distribution through CIEE's travel agency offices across the United States (no response rate indicated).

Internationally, the response rates varied by country. England produced 200 responses from 820 questionnaires distributed at the University of London and the study abroad campuses of Syracuse University, Beaver College, Butler College, Boston University,

Pepperdine University, and Ithaca College. These returns were probably low because questionnaires were distributed during the spring break period. On the other hand, in Spain, where students were attending CIEE, CCIS (College Consortium for International Studies), and University of Wisconsin programmes, there was a 90 percent return rate. In France, the response rate varied among the different programmes surveyed: New York University, 17.7%; Reid Hall programmes (Wesleyan, Middlebury, and Smith), 32.5%; EDUCO (Duke and Cornell), 95%; and CIEE's own study abroad programmes in Paris, 55%, and in Rennes, 67.5% (Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," 5-7).

This researcher defined the focus and goals of the Darden Survey, which were to evaluate "the influence factors and demographic characteristics of both students who choose to study abroad and those who do not" (Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," i). Questionnaire length was kept under four pages to encourage completion. Questions targeting similar concepts were placed together, and the scope of questions was tested on sample students to ensure that the survey covered a broad range of motives. Answers are presented in different modes, including as a percentage of all possible answers and as a percentage of total survey respondents.

The Darden Survey is unique in examining motivations among students for choosing study abroad as part of their undergraduate careers. The survey is also unique in exploring the attitudes of students who do not study abroad, thus investigating the spectrum of beliefs held about overseas study by the broader student population -- information that can help illuminate prevailing traditional beliefs about study abroad in the student community.

123. Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," 31.

124. Ruth Sylte, e-mail correspondence, 5 April 1996.

125. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.

126. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 35.

127. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 14.

128. Veblen, *Theory*, esp. Chapter 2.

129. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 161-162.

130. Pace, *Junior Year*, 14-15.

131. John A. Munroe, *The University of Delaware: A History* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1986), 264.

132. Ibid., 264.

133. Jean F. Brown (Director of the University of Delaware Archives), interview, 7 February 1994.

134. Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 266-267.

135. R. John Matthew, *25 Years on the Left Bank* (Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1973), 33.

136. Ibid., 33.

-
137. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 147.
138. Emile Langlois, unpublished financial aid records, Sweet Briar, Va., spring 1996.
139. Nancy Stubbs, "Financial Aid," in Hoffa, Pearson, Slind, *NAFSA's Guide* (1993), 39-40.
140. Now at <http://www.istc.umn.edu>, under the supervision of Richard Warzecha, University of Minnesota, ISTC.
141. Jon Heise, interview, 25 March 2000.
142. Brown, "U.S. Students Abroad," 66-67.
143. Bowman, *Educating*, 19.
144. Ibid., 23.
145. Ibid., 29.
146. William H. Allaway and Hallam C. Shorrock, *Dimensions of International Higher Education, The California Symposium on International Education Abroad* (Boulder and London: Westview Special Studies in Education, 1985), xiv.
147. Mary Elizabeth Conway Gwin, *Study Abroad Advising: Information Delivery and Quality Assessment in Computer-Assisted Advising on Study Abroad Opportunities* (doctoral dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1985), 25; Barbara Burn, *Expanding the International Dimensions of Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), 1; John A. Wallace, "Characteristics of Programs for Study Abroad," *Journal of General Education* 13, no. 4 (January 1962), 254; Bowman, *Educating*, 23. Among international educators, some limited discourse did begin to emerge in American education reflecting inherent value simply in living in another culture (W. F. Hull, W. H. Lemke, and R. T. Houang, *The American Undergraduate, Off Campus and Overseas: A Study of the Educational Validity of Such Programs* [New York: CIEE Occasional Papers Series, no. 20, 1977], introduction; Wallace, "Characteristics of Programs," 255.)
148. David Arnold, interview, 15 October 1990.
149. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 3, 4, 60-61.
150. Clark Kerr, "Introduction," in Allaway and Shorrock, *Dimensions*, xiii.
151. President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, *Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979), 1-2.
152. *Educating for Global Competence*, 1.
153. Sara J. Steen, *Academic Year Abroad 1997-98* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1996), viii.

154. Sara J. Steen, *Vacation Study Abroad 1997-98*, New York: Institute of International Education, 1996), viii and back cover.

155. Peterson's, a U.S. publisher of educational reference books since 1966, began in 1993 to survey U.S. higher education institutions for a new, annually updated, consumer-oriented publication on study abroad, featuring available semester-long and academic-year-long study abroad programmes, *Peterson's Study Abroad: A Guide to Semester and Year Abroad Academic Programs* (Princeton, N.J.: Peterson's, 1993). Thus from 1993 on, Peterson's has collected statistical information about the field of study abroad for U.S. students. Statistical data collected by Peterson's were, and continue to be, employed in a commercially published directory of study abroad programmes; but, unlike IIE, Peterson's does not publish a complete statistical profile of the data they gather.

156. William Velivis, correspondence, 14 December 1994. According to John Bowman, the greatest increase in programmes occurred between 1962 and 1975, with the rate declining somewhat in the 1970s. He notes that limited funding prevented institutions from maintaining some programmes and opening new ones (see Bowman, *Educating*, 27). Others have noted that the impact of the Vietnam war, and accompanying disillusionment with the U.S. mandate to change the world, may also explain the decline in the rate of growth of study abroad programmes in the late 1970s (David Arnold, interview, New York, N.Y., 6 August 1997; Kerr in Allaway and Shorrock, *Dimensions*, xiii).

157. Brown, "U.S. Students Abroad," 69.

158. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 14.

159. *Educating for Global Competence*, 7, reporting from American Council on Education, *Campus Trends*, 1986, Higher Education Panel Report no. 73, August 1986.

160. Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 7. See also Appendix A, Table 3.21, for financial figures on the International 50 schools, indicating that many of them are indeed expensive colleges.

161. Ibid., 42.

162. Ibid., 42.

163. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 147. For its 1995-96 data survey, IIE sent survey forms to 1,176 accredited U.S. colleges and universities, garnering an 84.4% return (Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 136). Actual names to whom IIE sent surveys were determined by referring to listings in the IIE publication, where the schools indicated that they sponsored study abroad programmes, or to previous survey responses. These techniques limit the respondent pool, and the data reported by those institutions were sometimes incomplete as well, although the overall annual response rate is strong (Todd Davis, ed., *Open Doors 1995/96: Report on International Exchange* [New York: Institute of International Education, 1996], 164; Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 201-202).

164. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 147. This 'percent' represents the total percentages of students abroad, composed of all the research institutions sending colleges, and does not conflict with the percentages of students per research institution cited above by the International 50.

165. Harold Vaughn, "International Activity on State College and University Campuses," news server message, New@NAFSO.org, 7 May 1996.

166. While the majority of students (72%, according to Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 147) attend programmes sponsored by their own institutions, many institutions of higher education in the United States support study abroad by allowing their students to attend programmes operated by other institutions. Therefore, statistics about institutions do not match those about students attending. An examination of feeder or sponsor schools can help portray the growing diversity of institutions supporting international education.

Early study abroad programmes recruited from feeder institutions. The University of Delaware operated programmes in France at the onset of World War II, drawing students from a number of other institutions. See Appendix A, Table 3.22, University of Delaware Program Feeder Institutions, 1923-39, for a list of feeder institutions that sent students to the Delaware French programme. Of the 128 institutions supplying students, only 20 percent can be confirmed as public institutions. Sweet Briar College continued to recruit nationally for the programme. The number of institutions supplying students increased, in fact, and by 1957, Sweet Briar had enrolled over 600 students from 104 American colleges and universities (Martha Lou Lemmon Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College* [Sweet Briar, Va.: Alumnae Association of Sweet Briar College, 1956], 205), with many from small liberal arts colleges.

Council on International Educational Exchange programmes show an increased diversity of feeder institutions, though with numbers coming from small liberal arts colleges. See Appendix A, Table 3.23, Council on International Educational Exchange, Top Ten Feeder Schools, 1995-96 to 1996-97, for a list in rank order of the top ten institutions providing students to Council programmes. The leading undergraduate feeder is a public institution, as are half of its top ten feeders. Thus a study across time of feeder institutions reinforces the traditional belief about the role of liberal arts colleges, but also reflects the increasing diversity of institutional types supporting study abroad.

167. Michel Foucault, "Body/Power," in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Random House, 1980), 61.

168. Roger P. Mourad, Jr., *Postmodern Philosophical Critique and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Higher Education* (Westport, Conn., and London: Bergin and Garvey, 1997), 60-61.

169. Ralph Cohen, interview, 1 September 1999.

170. Solomon, *In the Company*, 83.

171. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 35.

172. Kathleen M. Reilly, unpublished paper (1995), 1. Kathleen Reilly was Director of Study Abroad at Seton Hall University and 1997-98 Chair of NCISPA, the Title VI Holders Division of the International Studies Association.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid.

176. Ibid. Barbara Burn reflected this same strand of thought within discourse, stating that women have enrolled in liberal arts colleges' study overseas programmes in order to broaden their cultural horizons, selecting humanities first and social sciences second: "Humanities and arts fields . . . still predominate as the focus of college-sponsored study abroad programs, close to one-third in 1979-80 and over one-third in 1980-81," says Burn. She continues:

This is undoubtedly because so many of the college-sponsored programs are in the language and culture fields in which it is much easier for students to study abroad for a year or semester than in professional fields. Foreign languages departments have more incentives to set up study abroad programs because they can greatly improve students, language proficiency, help attract students to major or minor in foreign languages, and often offer to foreign language faculty at American colleges the opportunity to spend time in their foreign language country as foreign program director. Few professional fields offer comparable incentives for faculty to organize overseas study programs. (Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 39)

Although Burn offers a rationale here, she also recognises the devaluation of cultural education. Aware of the traditional belief that study abroad does not contribute to professional development, she felt the need to rebut it.

177. Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (Washington: Zenger Publishing Co., 1959), 240-244.

178. Ibid., 241.

179. Catherine Stimpson, "Colleges in the U.S. Beginning to Ask, 'Where Have All the Men Gone?'" *New York Times*, 6 December 1998, A38.

180. Brown, "U.S. Students Abroad," 74.

181. Sylte, e-mail.

182. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities* 4th ed., with new chapters by Willis Rudy (New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 287-304.

183. Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 11-13.

-
184. Ibid., 198.
185. Ibid., 143.
186. Solomon, *In the Company*, 80-87.
187. Ibid., 82.
188. Ibid., 78-87.
189. Page Smith, *Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America* (New York: Viking Press, 1990), 92-93.
190. Ibid., 93.
191. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 281-282: "The conservative groundswell generated by wartime anxieties and dissatisfactions with peace altered the public climate in which women's colleges operated."
192. Ibid., 295.
193. Ibid.
194. Solomon, *In the Company*, 83.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid., 80-88.
197. Smith, *Killing the Spirit*, 97.
198. Pace, *Junior Year*, 15-16.
199. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 144, 146
200. William Velivis, correspondence, 14 December 1998.
201. There is a debate in the academy about the inherent value of culture education. The description of traditional belief offered in this thesis recognises the discursive constitution of culture education as frequently marginalised and devalued. The alternative discourses of sponsors and participants, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Four, do not address the inherent worth of culture education. They address instead the serious academic and professional purposes envisioned in their embrace of the liberal curriculum. Therefore the task of this thesis, to elucidate the foundations of traditional belief about study abroad and unveil its alternative discourses, does not include a study of the inherent worth of culture education, which will be noted as a direction for future study in Chapter Five.
202. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.
203. Foucault, *Discipline*, 194; Michel Foucault, *Death and Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel*, trans. Charles Roas (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1986), 164-165; Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 212; G. Burchell, C. Gordon,

-
- and P. Miller, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Hemel, Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 179; Mourad, *Postmodern Philosophical Critique*, 60-66.
204. Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), 94.
205. Dumas Malone, *The Sage of Monticello* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1981), 409.
206. Reilly, unpublished paper, 1.
207. Urbain De Winter, *Overcoming Barriers to Study Abroad: A Report of the New York State Task Force on International Education* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1995), 59.
208. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 15.
209. E. El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1992* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1993), cited in Joan Claffey, *Serving the World: International Activities of American Colleges and Universities* (Washington: Office for University Cooperation in Development).
210. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 4.
211. Ibid., 4-5.
212. Ibid., 29-30.
213. Ibid., 55.
214. Ibid., 56.
215. De Winter, *Overcoming Barriers*, 46.
216. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 52.
217. Brown, "U.S. Students Abroad," 72.
218. *A National Mandate*, 9.
219. Ibid., 11.
220. Hoffa, Pearson, and Slind, *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators* (Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1993), x.
221. In AASCU's 1995 survey of its member institutions, out of 281 responses (74.7% response rate), more than half of those institutions -- 165 (58.7%) -- reported mission statements incorporating international education goals. Sixty-one percent reported a centralised study abroad office connected to central administration. At the same time, while over half of the institutions had full-time officers in charge of international education on campus, one-quarter of those officers had other responsibilities. One-third of all institutions responding had only a part-time officer responsible for international education (Harold Vaughn, interview, 7 May 1997).

-
222. Ketayoun Darvich-Kodjouri, *International Activity on State College and University Campuses*, 1995 (Washington: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1995).
223. Ibid.
224. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 57.
225. Ivan Putnam, ed. *Study Abroad: A Handbook for Advisers and Administrators* (Washington: National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, 1979), 11.
226. Cassandra A. Pyle, correspondence, 22 December 1988.
227. Vaughn, "International Activity."
228. "The Role of the University in Higher Education Internationalization," panel presentation, Council on International Educational Exchange Annual conference, Chicago, 11 November 1999.
229. Darvich-Kodjouri, "International Activity."
230. Joann McCarthy, "Connecting the International Office to Campus and Curriculum Internationalization Strategy," presentation at Association of International Educators Conference, San Jose, Costa Rica, 21 February 1997.
231. De Winter, *Overcoming Barriers*, 4, 44-47.
232. See Chapter Four of this thesis.
233. *A National Mandate*, 9.
234. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 51.
235. Philip G. Altbach and Hans deWit, "International Higher Education: America Abdicates Leadership," *International Higher Education* (Journal of the Boston College Center for International Higher Education). Cited by William Hoffa, e-mail correspondence, 21 August 1995.
236. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 4-5.
237. Ibid.
238. Bowman, *Educating*, 13. The interest in study abroad was especially manifest in the respect Americans held for the German university in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Americans went to Germany to pursue scientific fields not yet available for study in the United States (Veysey, *Emergence*, 125-130). Indeed, from the beginning of the eighteenth century until 1914, it is estimated that ten thousand American students studied in Germany alone (Putnam, *Study Abroad*, 1).
239. Veysey, *Emergence*, 131.
240. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.

-
241. Ibid., 13.
242. Olmsted, *Sixty Years*, 4.
243. Ibid., 4.
244. Ibid., 15-16.
245. John A. Garraty and Walter Adams, *From Main Street to the Left Bank: Students and Scholars Abroad* (East Lansing, Mich.: The Michigan State University Press, 1959), 9-10.
246. Bowman, *Educating*, 13.
247. Lambert, "Study Abroad," 13.
248. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 35.
249. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 52-53.
250. Ibid., 55.
251. Ibid., 56.
252. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 145-146
253. De Winter, *Overcoming Barriers*, 59.
254. *A National Mandate*, 10.
255. Bowman, *Educating*, 33.
256. Harold Vaughn, "International Activity"; Harold Vaughn, "Connecting the International Office to Campus and Curriculum Internationalization Strategy," presentation at Association of International Educators Conference, San Jose, Costa Rica, 21 February 1997.
257. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 49.
258. Jon Booth, interview, 12 May 1997.
259. James Pritchett, e-mail correspondence, 12 May, 3 October, 6 October 1997. These programmes represent the majority of programmes available today, according to a research analyst for Peterson's:
- | | | |
|------------------|------|---------|
| Total programmes | 1540 | |
| English language | 909 | (59%) |
| Other | 604 | (39.2%) |
- (with Spanish the most frequent foreign language of instruction).
260. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 45.
261. It is significant to note that women have sustained their interest in study abroad *per se*, no matter in what language classes are conducted. Female enrollment has remained consistent even as more courses are taught in English (Pritchett, e-mail).
262. Goodwin and Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond*, 29-36, 57-59, 70-74, 112.

263. Ibid., 43.

264. Ibid., 42-43.

265. Josef A. Mestenhauser, Director of the Office of Academic Affairs and International Education, University of Minnesota, interview, April 1989.

266. NAFSA, national membership survey, 1990. Among NAFSA members (not just study abroad advisers), 60 percent of respondents were women (1,519) and 40% men (1,025). Of these, 816 men and 1,196 women worked in higher education institutions, yet more men than women held Ph.D.s (377 men, 176 women).

267. Edward Blankenship, Director of the office of International Education, California State University, interviews, April 1989.

268. NAFSA, "Report on National Membership Survey," *NAFSA Newsletter* 41, no. 3 (December/January 1990), 15. The report states, additionally, "salaries are higher the longer you have been in the field, the more education you have had, and the higher your position is in your organization."

269. Ruth M. Sylte, e-mail correspondence, 5 April 1996.

270. Susan Jurow, Kirk D. Beyer, and Management Compensation Services, *Administrative Compensation Survey, 1996-97* (Washington: College and University Personnel Association, 1997), 2-3. Of the 39 student services administrative categories, only 11 ranked below international education positions in median salary, while 71.8 percent were paid more. These are measurements of senior administrative positions.

271. *A National Mandate*, 9, 11; Hoffa, Pearson, and Slind, *NAFSA'S Guide*, x.

272. Vaughn, interview.

273. Carol Lazzeri, e-mail correspondence, 6 February 1997.

274. *A National Mandate*, 10.

275. Joan Gore, Karen Keim (Lehigh University), David Portlock (Lafayette University), and Sara Dumont (Duke University), "Tuition Drain and Financial Strain," panel presentation at NAFSA: Association of International Educators National Conference, May 1994.

276. Some universities have responded to the issue of tuition drain by banning study abroad. Others have responded by charging students full U.S. tuition and fees, regardless of the cost overseas, according to Geoffrey Gee, speaking for the University of Pennsylvania during a May 1994 NAFSA panel presentation. Many institutions charge a special fee for going abroad, choosing not to support study abroad from regular revenues and thus marginalising it as an activity not appropriate for normal funding (Gore et al., "Tuition Drain"). CIEE's Baseline Study found that 38 percent of

respondent institutions charged special fees for study abroad administration, many \$100 or higher (see Appendix A, Table 3.27).

277. Burchell, Gordon, and Miller, *Foucault Effect*, 79.

278. Mourad, *Postmodern Philosophical Critique*, 60-61.

279. Cohen, interview.

280. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 186-187.

281. Foucault, "Body/Power," 124-133.

282. Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, vii-18.

283. *Ibid.*, 10.

284. *Ibid.*, 5, 9-13.

285. Cohen, interview; Mourad, *Postmodern Philosophical Critique*, 60.

286. Foucault, *Discipline*, 185, 187, 191-192.

Chapter Four

Alternative Discourses: The Voices of Sponsors and Participants

Alternative discourses about study abroad exist within the marginalised sub-groups of the academic community who support this activity, yet the vast majority of the American academy ignores those voices. While the prevailing view of the academy is disdain for study abroad as academically weak and functionally irrelevant, this chapter will demonstrate that the faculty and students who pursue it see it as an academically demanding experience and an important avenue for professional preparation. Faculty see a unique role for study abroad, too, as a form of education which can contribute to international peace.

Michel Foucault recognised the existence of alternative discourses and recommended exploration of these discursive communities to identify their unique and often obscured knowledge -- their alternative beliefs. He encouraged an historical approach that stepped away from the idea that an event might be explained by a Platonic vision of the transcendental or by historical precedent, encouraging the historian to listen instead to the voices of the time. He labeled this investigation

'genealogy.'¹ Genealogy includes inquiry conducted to identify dissenting views, which often go unrecognised and invalidated; an inquiry that illuminates the beliefs of participants in an event, and particularly the beliefs of those whose knowledge is counter to the norm and thus not respected.² The faculty and administrators who have organised or supported study abroad programmes and the students who have participated in those programmes hold dissenting views about study abroad. Adapting Foucault's genealogical perspective, this chapter illuminates their beliefs.

Parts One and Two of this chapter will examine the goals and expectations articulated by the faculty and administrators. Part One will identify their views about the academic quality of students they have sent abroad and the programmes they have constructed and supported. Part Two will analyse the functional purposes articulated by sponsors about study abroad programmes.

Parts Three, Four, and Five will turn to an illumination of the motivations and expectations of participants. The discourse of female participants, around whose presence much of the marginalising constellation of traditional beliefs and the episteme they produce has been built, will be a focus of this inquiry.

Part Three will bring to light a discourse of commitment to study abroad, despite the difficulties of pursuing it. Part Three shows how participants value the experience. Parts Four and Five will explore the alternative discourse of participants: their academic and career motivations, their view of the quality of study abroad, and their functional purposes for seeking overseas education.

Foucault's methodologies for inquiry reveal the power of discourse. Archaeological inquiry, the work of Chapter Three, contextualises the foundations of epistemic development, diagnosing why statements, or traditional beliefs, form together to produce an episteme that emerges with the authority to normalise and exposing how particular visions are empowered by it. Genealogical inquiry gives voice to those excluded from power, the contradictory beliefs excluded by the majority. For Foucault, these methods of inquiry carry with them the possibility that change can occur in what is believed and who has power.³ This thesis now turns to the alternative discourse.

Part One. Sponsor Discourse and Practice: Beliefs about the Academic Quality of Study Abroad

The discourse of faculty and administrators who have

created or supported study abroad programmes for their students, including their female students, is largely an ignored discourse in an academic world where almost 99 percent of the undergraduate student body complete their entire education in the United States.⁴ Part One will bring to light alternative beliefs about the academic quality of study abroad, manifest in the discourse and practice of its sponsors. This examination will include an analysis of the academic abilities of students for whom sponsors created programmes; the stated academic goals and standards of early programmes and contemporary programmes; a survey of admission and foreign language requirements; and an analysis of the academic calibre of institutions sending students abroad.

First, two historical cases will be examined: the University of Delaware/Sweet Briar College, introduced in Chapter Three,⁵ illustrating a coeducational programme; and Smith College, illustrating an all-female programme. The study abroad programme begun by the University of Delaware and continued after World War II at Sweet Briar College offers the most thorough set of data, anecdotal and statistical, to be found on the history and current state of U.S. study abroad. As a coeducational programme, it offers the opportunity to reveal beliefs about the quality such a programme should offer to both

men and women. Smith College presents a programme almost as long-lived as that of Delaware/Sweet Briar, yet established and maintained by a women's college for female participants only. This offers the opportunity for an analysis of the beliefs of sponsors about the purposes of women's education through study abroad.

Chapter Three identified a constellation of traditional beliefs which devalue study abroad, not least as an arena for women who are uninterested in high-quality academic study or serious professional preparation. This chapter will illuminate beliefs within the marginalised community of supporters that define women as capable and serious students, at home and abroad. It will show that in this community of belief, overseas study programmes are held to offer high-quality educational opportunities not available in the United States.

Programme Origins and a Discourse of Academic Quality:

The University of Delaware Model

Just as traditional beliefs about study abroad began to form with the emergence of the modern programmes after World War I, so did the development of an alternative discourse. This section indicates that from the start, this discourse conceived of women participants as

academically capable students.

In his history of study abroad, John Bowman observes that the Junior Year Abroad programme established during the presidency of Walter H. HULLIHEN in 1923 at Delaware College (later the University of Delaware) was an exception to the rule that only women's colleges established study abroad programmes.⁶ Indeed, one critical decision considered at Delaware was whether to include women in the programme. That decision was made deliberately and in full awareness of the academic rigour of the courses being planned. Writing in 1923, Professor R. W. Kirkbride, programme founder, addressed the question of admitting women and noted that there was no reason not to, as they would benefit as much as men and their needs would be accommodated with the same academic offerings.

Kirkbride noted that the female candidates for the programme were of the highest academic ability. "I know of two Women's College students who would probably make the trip, Miss Catherine Dougherty and Miss Mary Kreuger. Both are brilliant French students . . . I also have an application from a brilliant girl student of Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa."⁷ He did not differentiate between the academic prowess of male and female students, and he expected the highest achievements from both.

The historic record reflects the concern expressed by the Delaware programme founders about the academic rigour of their new design. As Francis M. Rogers points out, American colleges were wary of granting credit for work not done within their walls, so "The institution sponsoring the group . . . was expected to maintain the highest standards and to assure the student's American college that a year's work had in fact been satisfactorily accomplished."⁸ Delaware sponsors instituted practices to ensure supervision for the programme and to immerse students in several months of language training at the University of Nancy prior to their enrollment in the specially designed 'Cours de Civilisation' at the Sorbonne.⁹ (For a full description, see Appendix C: Sketch of Foreign Study Plan.)

The University of Delaware archivist, John M. Clayton, Jr., summarising the materials from that institution's early foray into study abroad, states that Hullihen decided to start a study abroad programme because of the nation's great economic, commercial, and political growth.¹⁰ Hullihen's intent was a strong academic programme with purposeful career preparation training.¹¹

Delaware's first group studying abroad numbered eight men. They were chosen for their "intellectual

gifts, mature character, industrious habits and linguistic ability."¹² In the second year, the programme enrolled seven students, four men and three women, two doing graduate work.¹³ The programme grew quickly, in part because it attracted participants from other schools, to the point that University of Delaware students represented a minority. In those early years, the programme was considered an important service provided by the University of Delaware to the higher education community.¹⁴

The Delaware plan for an academically rigorous programme was reflected in student evaluations of the programme in the first decade. In 1933, the University of Delaware Committee on Foreign Study surveyed its alumni, hoping to identify the benefits and most important features of the Foreign Study Plan. They contacted the 383 members of the Association des Anciens Etudiants des Groupes Delaware en France, 245 of whom were women; 127 of those women responded to the survey. Of those, 112 women (or 88.19 percent) responded positively to a question that asked whether the programme provided a scholastic benefit,¹⁵ representing for the Delaware programme sponsors the fulfillment of their goals.

Programme Origins and a Discourse of Academic Quality:
The Smith College Example

Deliberately mirroring the University of Delaware's success,¹⁶ Smith College began a programme in Paris in 1925,¹⁷ organised at the instigation of its Scottish-born and Scottish-educated president, William Allan Neilson.¹⁸ Neilson's discourse reflects a commitment to quality education and to education for quality students. He created a 'Smith Special Honors' plan, which became an influential model for honours programmes. As part of his vision of education for the strongest of students, Neilson proposed a Junior Year Abroad programme.¹⁹

Neilson himself had come to North America in pursuit of education,²⁰ and he wanted the new study abroad programme to be designed for top-quality students. For Neilson, personally involved in developing the programme, "The Junior Year Abroad was another device for the better education of the better student," arising out of "expanding internationalism in American thinking after World War I."²¹ Neilson visited Paris during the programme's first year and frequently thereafter. By 1931, Smith College had established a Junior Year in Spain; by 1932, a Junior Year in Italy.²²

From the first, the students involved in Smith College's Paris programme were described as academically

serious. A letter from H  l  ne Cattan  s, a Smith College professor of French whom Neilson appointed to organise the programme, describes the students as joyful, ready to observe, and avid to learn and understand.²³ For these students, the new Sorbonne model was implemented²⁴ (as described in Chapter Three) and the Sorbonne designed an array of humanities courses in French civilisation, literature, history, art, the history of science, philosophy, and social science courses on political and social institutions, all conducted in French. Students also spent two months in intensive language study at the University of Grenoble. They lived with families, an arrangement intended to plunge them into French life while still upholding Smith's strict standards of conduct and academic quality.²⁵ In the words of the French Department Chair, the early Junior Year Abroad in Paris offered "intellectual adventure,"²⁶ solidly academic through careful coaching by faculty.²⁷

Smith students, like those from Delaware, enrolled in the Sorbonne's 'Cours de Civilisation Fran  aise.' Smith administrators coordinated their Sorbonne work so that all credits would transfer and contribute toward the baccalaureate degree. Thus the Smith programme, designed as an honours experience,²⁸ met the criteria John Bowman established for an educational experience that

transcended the Grand Tour tradition: it set high academic standards and expectations for its participants. And it was a programme designed with these features to serve an entirely female constituency.

Programme Origins and a Discourse of Academic Quality:

The Sweet Briar Programme

Smith College's programme exerted a formative influence on discourse and practice in early U.S. study abroad. The model -- a strong academic programme for capable students at a women's college -- continued, and institutions including Yale and Harvard expressed support as the Institute of International Education's Committee on Study Abroad supervised the transfer of the programme from the University of Delaware to Sweet Briar College, an all-female liberal arts college in Virginia.²⁹ Both Meta Glass, College President when Sweet Briar initiated the takeover of the Delaware programme, and her successor, Martha B. Lucas, went on record to express commitment to strong academic programmes. These two administrators supported Joseph Barker, the French professor who had before World War II served as a resident director of the University of Delaware programme and who developed it further for Sweet Briar College. Barker believed the programme, whether Delaware or Sweet

Briar sponsored it, offered academic quality and professional development for strong students.³⁰

Sweet Briar maintained an "enviable record for academic vigor," according to College President Harold B. Whitman, Jr., reviewing the programme in 1973.³¹ Whitman continued:

Sweet Briar is blessed to have had persons with the foresight to continue the program at a moment when it was threatened with disappearance; we are also blessed to have had persons with the standards and the fortitude to make it into an extremely valuable educational experience for all its participants, as well as one of the College's greatest assets.³²

The stated principles of the Sweet Briar programme -- which, like Delaware and Smith, influenced many other programmes to come -- included "careful selection" of undergraduates, educational counseling while overseas, registration in regular courses at the foreign university as well as special courses for programme participants, and periodic tracking of student progress by the home institution.³³ Students were required to have achieved at least a 3.0 average (on a 4.0 scale) in French courses and a minimum 2.5 average in college work as a whole.³⁴ Today Sweet Briar maintains its programme for higher-achieving students and admits only students with a 3.0 average or better in all courses, continuing to

articulate the conception that programmes should be designed to serve capable students.

Programme Origins and Discourses of Academic Quality:

Marymount, Rosary, and Other Early Programmes

Founders of the other early study abroad programmes established at American women's colleges -- Marymount College and Rosary College -- describe motives similar to those stated by founders at Sweet Briar College, and Delaware and Smith before that. Marymount College, a Catholic women's college in Tarrytown, New York, initially decided to establish a study abroad programme in 1921. The Marymount nuns faced difficulties, including real estate problems.³⁵ They persisted, feeling that the programme was important to their school, and finally established 'Marymount in Paris' in 1924.³⁶ According to Sister Rita Arthur, International Education Director Emeritus of Marymount College, the study abroad programmes were always set up with an emphasis on high academic standards, offering, some claimed, a much more focused scholarly programme than any at Marymount itself.³⁷

Rosary College, a women's college organised by the Dominican Sisters in River Forest, Illinois, established a study abroad programme in 1925. Participants resided

in Fribourg, Switzerland, and studied French, literature, religion, philosophy, history, and English at Fribourg's Institut des Hautes Etudes. World War II interrupted the programme, but plans to reopen in 1947 inspired the publication of a college brochure, describing the programme and giving a glimpse at the academic expectations of its sponsors. "Who should study abroad?" the brochure asked, answering: "A Serious Student." The brochure then addressed traditional belief directly:

The Junior Year Abroad should not be confused with the traditional Grand Tour. It is not a 12-month holiday devoted to the accidental assimilation of culture and the deliberate enjoyment of leisure.

Only students who can convince themselves and their teachers of the seriousness of their work should consider the Fribourg Foreign Study Plan.³⁸

Appropriate candidates, the brochure stated, "must be young women of character and of studious habits. They must have completed, as better-than-average students, at least two years of college work and be disposed to do earnest studying while abroad."³⁹ Rosary College administrators and faculty evidently sensed the nascent traditional belief that study abroad provided a dilettantish Grand Tour experience, and they felt the need to make clear that their intentions, and thus their programme, were quite different.

Indeed a review of scholarly articles prior to World War II by and for those interested in study abroad revealed no discourse describing these junior year abroad programmes as cultural enrichment experiences in the Grand Tour tradition.⁴⁰ Instead the discourse of faculty and administrators who sponsored all these early programmes -- Delaware, Smith, Rosary, Marymount, and, after World War II, Sweet Briar -- consistently defined them as academic experiences designed to challenge the most able students, including the women.

Post-World War II Discourses of Academic Standards

This interest in strong academic programmes, which continued to be manifest in the discourse and practice of programmes such as the Delaware/Sweet Briar model after World War II, is reflected as well in more contemporary programme development. The record of the International 50,⁴¹ those fifty American liberal arts colleges that define themselves by their commitment to internationalisation, offers a discourse describing this commitment. Academically strong study abroad offerings represent the very peak of excellence at these schools. Faculty who teach in the International 50 believe "[t]hese colleges attract students because of the strength of their international programs."⁴²

The International 50 take pride in noting that while the total number of U.S. students seeking degrees in foreign languages and foreign area studies decreased by 38 percent between 1972 and 1988, the number of degree-seekers in these areas at International 50 colleges actually increased by 13 percent over the same period. Reviewing their entire commitment to international education with study abroad as a component, the International 50 note that their graduates are at least three times more likely to have studied abroad during their undergraduate years than their peers nationally.⁴³

Other contemporary study abroad programmes reflect a similar discourse of commitment to academic rigour and capable students. In the regular academic-year programmes offered by the Council on International Education Exchange, undergraduate admission typically requires a grade point average of B- or better.⁴⁴ Beaver College, historically admitting more U.S. students to British university programmes than any other U.S. institution, requires an average grade point of 3.0 (or B) for admission to the majority of its programmes abroad.⁴⁵

The CIEE Baseline Survey of international education administrators asked study abroad advisers which criteria counted the most heavily when they evaluated student

applications to programmes. Important criteria included faculty recommendations, previous language study, personal attributes, and essay writing. But the most frequently cited criterion was academic standing, reflected in grade point average (see Appendix A, Table 4.1, CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 31: Rate the Factors Determining Student Eligibility for Study Abroad).

NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators, a widely used guide for study abroad advisers published by their professional association, reflects and sustains the beliefs of the sponsor community. It includes a description of programme participants as very capable: "study abroad students exhibit above-average scholastic performance"; for admissions, the guide continues, "most programs . . . require a grade of B, or a 3.0 cumulative grade point average."⁴⁶ (Also see Appendix A, Table 4.3, GPA Requirements for Admission to Leading Study Abroad Supplier Institutions.)

Literature describing students as academically competent is part of the discourse that sustains a belief within the sponsor community that study abroad is for capable students. In a 1990 study, Elinor G. Barber and Barbara B. Burn found that "[s]tudy-abroad students, especially those in academic year programs, exhibit

above-average scholastic performance and consider themselves strong academically."⁴⁷ Study abroad students were reported to be superior academically during the whole of their college career as well as in the year in which they pursued foreign study.

Programme participants frequently stress that an important reason for wanting to study abroad is academic, and that academic reasons drive their choices among programmes. The survey of Sweet Briar alumni reveals that the women participants frequently identified academic interest as their motivation.

Table 4.4

Sweet Briar Survey, Question 19

Were any of the following factors important in helping you to decide to go abroad?

<u>Women</u>								
4%								a) your ethnic background and your desire to explore your roots
20%								b) previous travel
14%								c) your family's interest in international issues and preferences
11%								d) your friendship with foreign individuals
28%								e) your academic interests
7%								fa) a male faculty member who encouraged you
8%								fb) a female faculty member who encouraged you
9%								g) other
	a	b	c	d	e	fa	fb	g
Female	18	94	62	50	128	30	36	41

* Respondents can choose more than one answer.

Both male and female participants sought academic guidance to identify which programme to attend, turning typically to academic faculty to help them as they made

their decisions. (See Appendix A, Tables 4.5 and 4.6, Sweet Briar Survey, Question 23: How did you hear about the Sweet Briar programme? and Question 24: Who/what influenced you to attend this programme?)

A survey of institutions offering study abroad programmes in 1996-97, based on data collected for *Peterson's Guide*, also suggests to what extent programmes are described as intended for academically successful students. According to James Pritchett, speaking on behalf of Peterson's, 784 programmes (58.7 percent of the 1,335 reporting) required a grade point average of 2.5 or higher. Of those 784, 616 programmes (46.1 percent of all programmes) required grade point averages above 2.75.⁴⁸

These figures can convey different messages. Programmes have expanded to include students with lower academic grade point averages. The presence of these students conforms to traditional beliefs about the academic weakness of study abroad. Nonetheless, the discourse describing study abroad as an activity for students with academic strengths is persistent. Indeed, some researchers cite this discourse as one of the primary obstacles to expanding enrollment in overseas education, since faculty are reluctant to support weaker students in their study abroad applications.⁴⁹ This

conception that study abroad programmes should serve high-quality students is also suggested by an analysis of which colleges and universities send the greatest number of students abroad, which reveals that, among the schools sending the greatest number abroad, only three report a GPA admission requirement under 2.75 (see Appendix A, Table 4.3).⁵⁰ (These data can only be suggestive, since only 50 percent provided grade point average information.⁵¹)

Substantial numbers of study abroad programmes are defined to serve the upper academic quarter of undergraduate students when measured by their grade point average standing. As Foucault argues, information that fits the norm is heard, while that which does not fit the norm remains marginalised and unheard.⁵² Descriptions of weaker students in study abroad programmes support the majority view. Meanwhile, the episteme describing study abroad as academically weak still stands, even as strong institutions support study abroad, as programmes set high admissions standards, as schools sending students abroad in large numbers often require students to have higher GPAs, as advisers report the GPA is among the most important criteria for determining admission to programmes, and as literature reports the academic strength of overseas students.

Discourse and Practice: Foreign Language Requirements and Academic Quality

Evidence that reinforces an episteme is recognised while that which challenges belief is ignored, Foucault argues. This tendency is reflected in the discourse about foreign language prerequisites for study abroad, especially when there is discussion about weakening requirements.

The earliest of programmes, Delaware and Smith, required prior language training. A certain level of language ability was in fact considered essential:

The theory behind the junior year abroad program was admirably simple and defensible. After two or three years of foreign language study in high school, plus an additional two-year's study in college, the student had reached the point where his accent, his vocabulary, his knowledge of the country and its language, all stood to benefit by a year spent in a foreign environment. As a foreign language major he was intensely motivated for this type experience since it obviously presented him with a linguistic experience superior to that which he could attain on his own campus.⁵³

In the aftermath of World War I, the academic community took the opportunity to assess the value of work going on in the various disciplines.⁵⁴ This assessment prompted the increased emphasis on spoken as

well as written foreign language study in the United States.⁵⁵ It was within this pedagogical environment that U.S. study abroad first emerged and study in the foreign language became valued (although, as Chapter Three described, the traditional beliefs of the broader academy held that even this study could better be accomplished in domestic rather than foreign settings).

Sweet Briar College continued the Delaware tradition by requiring prior foreign language training, and continues this practice to the present day. In 1993-94, for example, Sweet Briar required students to have had two years of pre-college French and the equivalent of two years of college French, including one or more intermediate college courses in literature, language, or civilisation, in order to qualify for study abroad. Further, students must show no lower than a B average in college French.⁵⁶

Foreign language study has not only been a requirement: it has, in fact, been a component of the discourse of motivation throughout the development of U.S. study abroad. University of California programmes were established in order to teach foreign languages:

The lag in foreign language instruction in the American schools and colleges became a source of alarm in the late 1950's. Americans realized that they had failed to

appreciate the sense of cultural empathy created when men speak the same language. The epithet "Ugly American" . . . has come into everyday usage as a summary of the frustration, . . . and contempt is to be expected when the linguistically and emotionally provincial American goes abroad.⁵⁷

An Education Abroad Program for the entire University of California system was established in 1962, and soon the Regents approved a Junior Year Abroad at the University of Bordeaux.⁵⁸ By 1967, the programme had expanded to ten countries and was described as "one of the most ambitious programs for overseas study in American higher education."⁵⁹ Students admitted to the programme had to show two years of prior language study and a B average.⁶⁰

A review of current requirements reveals an interest at many institutions in strong foreign language training, despite the decline in language study identified in Chapter Three. As described earlier in this chapter, the International 50, for example, require high-level foreign language skills. Their literature states that they:

- enroll students who major in foreign languages more frequently than their peers and do so in increasing proportions at a time when such numbers are declining nationally;
- show nearly 40 percent of their students studying a foreign language each year, nearly five times the figure for all undergraduate students nationally;

- together teach 32 different languages and offer 24 area studies programmes at one or more of the 50 institutions annually.⁶¹

Study abroad programmes sponsored by the Council on International Educational Exchange position foreign language study differently from other comparable study abroad programmes (see Appendix A, Table 4.2, CIEE Examination of Programme Requirements). Some are designed for students in disciplines that have not traditionally offered foreign study. Others, driven by the motivation to diversify destinations -- part of the mission of the Council -- take place in world regions whose languages are rarely available for study on American campuses. Therefore, a substantial number of Council programmes do not require previous language training.

Those organising programmes in non-English speaking countries continue to express uncertainty about whether or not to enforce foreign language competency as an entrance requirement. Currently some programmes forgo such requirements in order to encourage students from disciplines such as technology, science, or business, which often do not include foreign language training. Some programmes are designed for students with no prior language training, to encourage them in language and

international education. Data collected for the 1998-99 edition of *Peterson's Study Abroad* show that 530 programmes are taught in English-speaking countries and 1,100 in non-English-speaking countries. Of those, James Pritchett, Research Director for *Peterson's*, estimates that half -- 544 out of 1,100 -- require some level of foreign language competency for admission.⁶²

There is a danger these figures will be interpreted to mean study abroad programmes are lowering their standards when they do not require previous foreign language study for admission, yet they can be evaluated in another light. Given current trends in study abroad, these data represent the efforts of programme sponsors to expand study abroad venues to locations whose native languages are rarely taught in the United States and to expand participation by students in majors outside the liberal arts. These students are less likely to have engaged in advanced foreign language study.⁶³ The data can also be interpreted to suggest that sponsors so value the significance of the study abroad experience that they seek to extend the opportunity to many students who would otherwise be excluded because of the lack of foreign language study in their domestic programmes.

In conception and practice, for example, the Council for International Educational Exchange holds these

standards: a) to require foreign language study as part of almost every study abroad programme (the exception being their Amsterdam programme on the European community), and b) to require prior foreign language knowledge for study in countries whose languages are traditionally available in the United States. Hence the Council requires some language training for programmes in Russia, China, Spain, and France, but it does admit students without language background when they represent disciplines outside the liberal arts.

Foreign language requirements have been a significant component of the discourse about academic expectations in U.S.-sponsored study abroad programmes. New programmes have been designed to diversify the venues of international study, and language knowledge has become a less predominant requirement in some programmes. It is possible that this trend will reaffirm traditional beliefs describing study abroad as weak. At the same time, however, expanding to non-European sites also addresses policy goals established for study abroad development.⁶⁴ These goals, introduced in Chapter One, envision this expansion as part of an effort to increase participation in and respect for overseas study as central to higher education in a global society. The increasing number of English language programmes could be

understood in this light, as part of the effort to enhance the importance of study overseas and not an effort to erode its academic quality.

Discourse and Practice: Support for Study Abroad and Academic Quality

This commitment to the worth of overseas education as well as to its academic quality is further reflected in an analysis conducted to identify which U.S. institutions most actively promote study abroad. Through a comparison between the list of top-ranked academic institutions in the United States⁶⁵ and the list of institutions considered study abroad users (constructed for this thesis⁶⁶), the data reveal that faculty and administrators from the majority of nationally ranked institutions support overseas programmes.

A statistical analysis performed by this researcher also confirms the high academic standing of many U.S. schools that promote study abroad. Four percent of the weakest of the 1,719 four-year colleges and universities included in the annual *U.S. News and World Report* review of American colleges and universities⁶⁷ promoted study abroad. Conversely, schools sponsoring study abroad programmes represented 63 percent of all schools ranked among the best national universities or liberal arts

colleges, best regional universities or liberal arts colleges, good colleges, or unique in some key feature though unranked. Of the 392 schools identified as the best national colleges and universities, 292 (or 74.4%) were identified as study abroad users. Of the 93 best regional institutions, 84 (or 90.3%) were study abroad users. Of the 864 institutions ranked good, 426 (or 49.3%) were study abroad users. Finally, 27.9 percent of the schools unranked in any category did support their students' participation in some type of study abroad activity.

In other words, while almost half of schools ranked 'good' offered study abroad, only about a quarter of schools identified as weak promoted study abroad opportunities. Further, the strongest-ranked U.S. colleges and universities were also found to be the leading promoters of study abroad programmes: close to two-thirds of the best national colleges and universities and nine-tenths of the best liberal arts institutions offered study abroad as part of their undergraduate curricula.

The academic strength of institutions supporting study abroad participation can also be analysed by considering the average combined Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) scores of incoming students at a given college

or university, as reported to Barron's for their 1997 college listing.⁶⁸ Of the 831 schools reporting SAT admission scores, 598 reported scores above 1000 (out of a possible 1600). Of those 598 schools, 414 (or 69.2 percent) supported study abroad. Of the 233 reporting scores below 1000, only 39.9 percent could be identified as using study abroad programmes.⁶⁹

The same approach can be used to consider the alternative test, offered by the American College Testing Program (ACT). (Some schools, in fact, require both SAT and ACT scores for admission, so those schools enter calculations regarding both.) A total of 710 schools report their ACT requirements, with the highest score reported to be 31 and the lowest reported to be 13. Of the 522 schools reporting scores of 21 or higher, 313 (or 59.9%) supported study abroad programmes. Of the 133 schools reporting scores below 21, 35 schools (or 26.3%) could be identified as study abroad supporters. There was substantially less utilisation of foreign study options by faculty and administrators at weaker academic institutions. A similar result occurs when evaluating institutions with SAT scores over 1200 (out of a possible 1600). Among these strong academic institutions, the majority supported study abroad.

These analyses consistently show that it is faculty

and administrators at the most highly ranked academic institutions in the U.S. who regularly support study abroad for their students. Once again, these findings reflect an alternative vision of the overseas educational experience: study abroad is for academically able students.

This vision is a dominant theme in the alternative discourse of programme sponsors. Some components of their discourse and practice are in danger of reinforcing the episteme, a process that Foucault recognises as inevitable, given the power of the episteme to determine what is validated. But adapting the concept of genealogical analysis to identify the beliefs of the excluded community, alternative conceptions are revealed, as the following table illustrates:

Table 4.7.

Summary

Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Faculty and Administrators who Sponsor Study Abroad Programmes: Academic Quality and Goals

ALTERNATIVE BELIEFS	TRADITIONAL BELIEFS EXHIBITED OR REINFORCED BY ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE
I. WOMEN ARE EXPECTED TO BE AS ACADEMICALLY STRONG AS MEN	
<p>The University of Delaware programme was established for men and women, both expected to have strong academic skills. Founder Kirkbride described some female participants as "brilliant."⁷⁰ Smith College (all female) established programmes for its strongest students.⁷¹ Analysis of admissions requirements and academic records demonstrates that academic sponsors anticipate academically strong female student participants in their study abroad programmes.</p>	<p>The growing number of English language programs could arouse suspicions among some members of the higher education community that many programmes are academically weak. At the same time, more stringent foreign language requirements could be perceived as confirming study abroad to be a women's activity. Associated values, described in Chapter Three, tend to demean the purpose of liberal education when pursued by women.</p>
II. PROGRAMMES ARE EXPECTED TO BE ACADEMICALLY STRONG	
<p>The Delaware programme established high academic standards.⁷² After World War II, leading U.S. institutions supported the continuation of highly regarded study abroad programmes.⁷³ The administration of Sweet Briar College, assuming the Delaware mantle, specifically upheld strong academic expectations and denounced any leisurely travel purposes for their programme.⁷⁴</p>	

On-going programme evaluation occurred to ensure programmes met standards sufficient to produce academically successful students. ⁷⁵	
Among institutions perceived as the wealthiest in the U.S. -- private liberal arts institutions, exemplified by the International 50 -- the commitment to the strongest academic profile is fully substantiated. The international component is viewed as a primary strength of these institutions. ⁷⁶ Schools in this category from the start supported scholarship assistance to ensure that programmes would not be solely for the wealthy.	The continued visibility of the International 50 in study abroad may reinforce the belief that wealthier liberal arts institutions and participants engage in undergraduate study abroad.
Data from Peterson's confirm that, while programmes do exist to support weaker academic students, schools sending the greatest numbers of students abroad require higher grade point averages for admission.	A large number of programmes are open to U.S. students with lower-range grade point averages, sustaining traditional beliefs that programmes are academically weak.
Institutional measures such as SAT scores and national ranking demonstrate that the stronger, not the weaker, academic institutions most actively support study abroad.	The existence of study abroad programmes at weaker institutions could sustain the belief that study abroad programmes are academically weak.

<p>III. PROGRAMMES ARE DESIGNED TO OFFER STRONG ACADEMIC EXPERIENCES THROUGH THE LIBERAL CURRICULUM, NOT TRIVIALISED CULTURAL ACQUISITION.</p>	
<p>Initial programmes were European, but all were designed to provide quality education, not casual cultural experiences. Delaware's President Hulliher wanted a rigorous academic programme to prepare students for the emerging international world.⁷⁷ Rosary College disassociated itself from the heritage of the Grand Tour, spelling out a more serious academic purpose.⁷⁸</p>	<p>Language in programme literature, past and present, identifies the appeal of cultural exposure and travel, supporting the traditional belief that study abroad follows the Grand Tour tradition.</p>

<p>IV. OVERSEAS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMMES ARE ACADEMICALLY STRONG OPTIONS, OFFERING STUDENTS EDUCATION NOT AVAILABLE DOMESTICALLY</p>	
<p>Smith College evaluated their overseas programmes and affiliations as they did their domestic programmes.⁷⁹ Both the University of Delaware and Smith chose the Sorbonne's Cours de Civilisation as the core of their offerings, believing in it as an education unavailable at home. Both schools conducted ongoing evaluations to ensure that the programme matched U.S. educational standards.⁸⁰ Faculty scrutinised overseas options and determined them to be superior educational opportunities for their strongest students.</p>	

In sum, the analysis conducted in this section reveals alternative beliefs among faculty and administrators. They describe study abroad as an educational function serving academically strong undergraduates. They believe it offers a solid and unique academic alternative to domestic education. And they consistently articulate these beliefs when they send their female students abroad.

More broadly, this vision stands in contrast to the beliefs in the American academy that constitute study abroad as academically weak. Those beliefs also accord no respect to its functional role, a view to which this chapter now turns.

Part Two. Sponsor Discourse and Practice: Beliefs about the Functional Worth of Study Abroad

The episteme that devalues the academic quality of foreign education developed despite the existence of these alternative discourses that valued its excellence. The episteme also devalues its function, identifying no purpose for which study abroad should be respected. This section investigates beliefs expressed in the alternative discourses about the functions, or purposes, sponsors

envisioned study abroad to serve in their students' educations.

'Purpose' has always played a prominent role in American discourse about education: "From the very first, the nation's colleges and universities have been considered 'useful' not only to individual students but also to the larger community that granted them recognition and support."⁸¹ John Brubacher described post-secondary institutions as those that draw their 'legitimacy' by serving the needs of the society in which they operate.⁸² The United States more than three thousand institutions have "essential overarching missions . . . that have become intertwined with higher learning's traditional functions of teaching and research."⁸³ Institutions of higher education function in service to the nation to train an educated citizenry for a professional life, providing education which "would be useful, not *merely* in the classical sense of preparing gentlemen, but for the practical demands of a changing world."⁸⁴ From the first allocation of public funds to support higher education (Harvard, 1651) through the establishment of land-grant institutions (funded by the sale of federal lands) and the rise of the university, American education has been grounded in practicality⁸⁵ and

designed to solve the problems of society and support American development.⁸⁶

These functions were originally vested in the liberal curriculum,⁸⁷ but as education was adapted to meet the needs of the emerging nation, liberal education gave way to new disciplines and new research.⁸⁸ By the early twentieth century, Lincoln Steffens could write "the university is as close to the intelligent farmer as his pig-pen or his tool-house; the university laboratories are part of the alert manufacturer's plant."⁸⁹ Land-grant institutions, with their new curricula, were demeaningly referred to as 'cow colleges'⁹⁰ by those who would keep the liberal curriculum with its humanistic training for the professions.⁹¹ Nonetheless, students often saw practical training as their road to success. This was exemplified, even at Harvard, by the student who told Henry Adams he studied there because a Harvard degree "is worth money to me in Chicago."⁹² At the time study abroad programmes were developing in the earlier twentieth century, "pragmatic concerns seemed to be conquering higher education not only at the graduate but at the undergraduate level as well."⁹³ (Pejorative references to liberal education, cultural studies, or cultural acquisition in this study are those reflected in the discourse. The researcher adds no pejorative definition

of liberal studies or cultural pursuits.)

This discourse of practical functions has dominated in American education, yet the academy has not ascribed functional worth to study abroad. In this thesis, the term 'functional worth' is used to describe education with a purpose that is grounded in practicality, designed to train students to work professionally, and constructed to develop their skills as competent good citizens so they might contribute to the nation's development. The citizenship function of study abroad, as it is used in this thesis, encompasses the goals established by study abroad programmes to provide international understanding and enable students to contribute to world peace.

Because study abroad is perceived as a Grand Tour by wealthy women who study in the liberal arts to acquire culture, it is demeaned in the discourse for offering no professional preparation purpose. Nor does the traditional discourse assign value to any alternative function for overseas education. The international exposure offered through study abroad has not been recognised in traditional discourse for helping prepare students for 'a changing world' -- that was the job of domestic education. Neither does the traditional discourse recognise a role for overseas education in training effective citizens.

In this section, an analysis of the alternative discourse of those faculty and administrators who support study abroad again reveals alternative beliefs. From the start, study abroad programmes in the liberal arts have been created with frequently stated peace goals and expressly stated professional training goals in mind.⁹⁴

Professional education is defined more broadly in the United States than in the European tradition, where the universities "had four great faculties -- law, medicine, theology, and arts."⁹⁵ In the United States, the university movement was propelled by democracy "toward reality and practicality," wrote Stanford University President D. S. Jordan in "The Voice of the Scholar."⁹⁶ Harvard's President, James B. Conant, observed "the forces of democracy had taken the European idea of a university and transformed it."⁹⁷ As Brubacher and Rudy put it:

The rationale under which this uniquely American venture in higher education went forward involved not only equalization of educational opportunity but another closely related and enormously significant principle, respect for all occupational groups. Needless to say, belief in egalitarianism was a helpful factor in inducing this respect. Thus the idea of an intellectual elite never took root in the United States because it defied deep-seated American traditions of the dignity of all work as well as the worth of each person. American democracy was willing to recognize

that some individuals might be better at certain types of work than others. It was even ready "to respect the methods and honor the achievements of specially trained people."⁹⁸

Brubacher and Rudy go on to cite Conant, saying that he "has summed up the significance of this basic outlook" which thus "almost unconsciously" shaped the growth of the modern American university as "none other than a philosophy hostile to the supremacy of a few vocations . . . a philosophy moving toward the social equality of all useful labor."⁹⁹ Within this milieu, argue Brubacher and Rudy, the word 'profession' had a "much more elastic meaning" than in Europe,¹⁰⁰ indicating many occupations beyond the classical four.¹⁰¹ This conception of professional education both focused and propelled the vision of study abroad programme sponsors.¹⁰²

Applying Foucault's concept of genealogical inquiry, this section will illuminate the beliefs sponsors articulated about the purposes for an education abroad as they created programmes and supported their growth.

Discourses of Professional Training and Competent Citizens: The University of Delaware Example

Goals establishing important professional training and competent citizenship purposes for foreign education

were prominent as the very first Sorbonne-model U.S. study abroad programme took shape. Professional training was a central feature in planning discussions among University of Delaware faculty. When Professor Kirkbride of the Modern Languages Department at the University of Delaware approached President Walter HULLIHEN to establish a study abroad programme in 1921, HULLIHEN was very supportive. He believed that study abroad was an appropriate response to the growth the United States was experiencing in the economic, commercial, and political arenas. HULLIHEN felt that the nation and the world needed more college graduates prepared to work internationally. As the University of Delaware archivist summarises:

He anticipated that a large number of college graduates would be needed, especially men and women with foreign training and experience who would be valuable for positions in business and governmental agencies. There was already a need for well-qualified language teachers in the schools. Not only would a large reservoir of college-trained men and women -- each possessing a knowledge of the language, ideas, and culture of a country -- be created, but the way might be paved toward international understanding and good will.¹⁰³

While the focus of discourse was on professional training, the concept that study abroad fulfilled a

citizenship goal -- contributing to international peace -- also emerged. This function of American education to create able citizens who could contribute to the national growth appears in this context as educating a competent citizen who could contribute to peace through international understanding. John A. Munroe, writing a commemorative history of the University of Delaware, identifies Hullihen as a 'Wilsonian' -- a follower of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, a proponent of world peace and cooperation.¹⁰⁴ This vision further prompted Hullihen's interest.¹⁰⁵

When Kirkbride and Hullihen worked together to plan the programme, according to Munroe, they consulted with leading educators, bankers, businessmen, and government officials. Among those with whom they spoke was Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce and later President of the United States, who had worked abroad as an engineer and had been instrumental in international war relief. Hoover was enthusiastic about training graduates to serve American businesses abroad.¹⁰⁶ Hullihen reported Hoover supported study abroad because it would prepare a new generation to compete globally:

He said . . . that there is nothing the United States needs more at this time than 5000 young men trained in the way indicated in our plan; that the United States can not

gain the markets of the world through its commercial organizations and methods alone. The men for the undertaking at present are lacking.¹⁰⁷

When the *Christian Science Monitor* interviewed President Hullihen about the new study abroad programme, he explained that he wanted to reach the student who would be going into the business world and that he wanted to train men who could support the efforts of business, industry, commerce, and trade or the work of government and be knowledgeable about work abroad.¹⁰⁸

From the inception of modern study abroad in the United States, the discourse included professional training. (Although Hullihen alludes to "young men," the programme from its second year on admitted women, as noted earlier often more women than men, and offered them exactly the same professional training.)

The early Delaware programme contained courses in the liberal arts and social sciences alongside courses related to business and politics,¹⁰⁹ from the start, including courses in the liberal arts curriculum for professional preparation purposes. Except for size and a few other minor details, the ongoing academic structure of the programme followed Kirkbride's ideas, laid out in a memorandum to President Hullihen in January 1921.¹¹⁰ Hullihen, equally committed, sought programme funding

from Delaware industrial magnate DuPont and others, all of whom made "substantial contributions to the Delaware program's operating and scholarship funds."¹¹¹ Apparently Delaware businessmen saw the programme as a sound investment in the professional future of their companies and the nation.

Historian John Munroe confirms that both Kirkbride and Hullihen wanted to train students to be professionals destined for business, economics, and diplomacy.¹¹² From the start, then, the purposes articulated in this alternative discourse for educating students abroad included educational functions valued in the mainstream of American educational discourse -- training an educated and competent citizenry who could help America grow.

Discourses of Teacher Education and Social Feminism:
Examples from Smith College and Reid Hall

The concept that study abroad fulfilled rather than negated values attached to the function of education in the United States was manifest in the alternative discourse as additional study abroad programmes were developed. The purpose for education was similar, though a somewhat different set of professional intentions was expressed for the programmes established by Smith College in 1925. Designed specifically for women, their goals

reflect the career access paths experienced by women at the time.

One of the purposes of Smith's new programme was to train women to teach -- an intention representative of the times. The majority of women in the United States who went to work in the 1920s belonged to the teaching profession.¹¹³ Teacher education did not yet enjoy full professional status in the academic community. College women often chose teaching as a "vehicle for upward social mobility," "an improvement over what their mothers could do to earn a living, a welcome alternative to working in other women's kitchens and laundries or in mills and factories."¹¹⁴ In this historical context, associations of study abroad with teacher preparation contributed to the image that study abroad was a female pursuit which did not contribute to a professional career.

Nonetheless, sponsors saw teacher training as an important feature of their academic mission. Twenty years later, Rosary College was still describing the advantages of study abroad for graduates bound for teaching, stating that "[f]or teachers of French, the Foreign Study Plan is an invaluable asset."¹¹⁵ Sweet Briar College researcher Francis M. Rogers also noted, when examining admissions into the Harvard-Radcliffe

Romance Languages graduate program in 1958, that close to one-third of applying students had already studied abroad. He saw these applicants as future teachers and predicted that "the impact of study abroad on our language teaching is inevitably going to increase."¹¹⁶

In the early years, study abroad was seen by some specifically as a career-training programme for future teachers.¹¹⁷ By 1923, only 16 percent of Smith alumnae were teaching, but study abroad was still considered an "opportunity for a greater proficiency in a foreign language, with the assumption that most would subsequently go on to secondary or private school teaching."¹¹⁸ Olmsted recognises that the type of career supported by study abroad might have been different had the students been men. The limited opportunities available to American women shaped study abroad, both in programme design and in reputation: "Thus, for women, the junior year abroad was certainly considered a positive step toward a career, in academe especially, while men who studied abroad at that time were more likely to be in the professions of law, medicine or academe -- such opportunities for women to study in universities abroad were limited as very few universities on the continent were open to women at that time."¹¹⁹

Professor Hélène Cattànès, a new member of the

French Department, designed the Smith programme at College President Neilson's request. As an 'imported Scot,' Neilson was an internationalist,¹²⁰ so committed to the concept of study abroad that he persisted in establishing the programme, even in the face of faculty opposition.¹²¹

Smith College housed its programme at Reid Hall in Paris, a building that came to be owned by Columbia University. A Reid Hall Committee of American University Women developed. Its chair, Virginia Gildersleeve,¹²² was an example of the sort of academic woman who supported international education in that period. Gildersleeve was a pivotal figure in the development of the International Federation of University Women.¹²³ She felt that the Federation and similar organisations might train people internationally and help prevent another war,¹²⁴ and she wanted to support female teaching professionals by providing them with an international experience. She worked with the American Association of University Women to fund fellowships to help women go abroad to pursue their academic interests.¹²⁵

Gildersleeve belonged to one of the 'three generations' of American women, educated after the Civil War but before women's suffrage, who had expressed a strong commitment to education and opportunities for

women.¹²⁶ It was to Mrs. Gildersleeve that Mrs. Whitewall Reid, wife of the American ambassador in Paris, had entrusted the building, to support the artistic interests of American women.¹²⁷ After World War I, the building was dedicated to professional and university women. Gildersleeve advocated uses for Reid Hall such as Smith's study abroad programme, and she ultimately contributed to the re-establishment of Reid Hall after World War II.¹²⁸

Gildersleeve represents the discourse of social feminism, advocating women's issues in the 1920s. J. Stanley Lemons describes 'social feminists' as women who worked within organisational structures to reform the American socioeconomic and political structure. As they "worked for progressive reform," says Lemons, "they advanced the status of American women. And as they fought for women's rights, they pushed progressivism along in a decade of waning reformist impact."¹²⁹ Even Gildersleeve's book's title, *Many a Good Crusade*, reflects this discourse; in practice, so does her active participation in the American Association of University Women and in the formation of the International Federation of University Women. Her support for Reid Hall and for women, including the Smith women, studying abroad echoed the vision of the Smith College founders. She, and they, typify a discourse among American sponsors

of study abroad in the early twentieth century: a discourse which respected traditional women's occupations, including the teaching profession; advocated women's professional development; and conceived of study abroad as education designed to train competent citizens capable of contributing to the nation's growth.

Discourses of International Training and Peace: The Sweet Briar and Beaver College Examples

Professional competence and peace interests, central to the discourse of early study abroad development, continued to be manifest in the discourse as programmes were re-established after World War II. Two women's colleges provide examples: Sweet Briar College, carrying on the Delaware programme, and Beaver College, newly entering the field of international education.

In the 1930s Sweet Briar President Meta Glass, interested in international understanding and therefore international education, organised an exchange between Sweet Briar and Scotland's St. Andrews University.¹³⁰ Glass worked closely with Virginia Gildersleeve. She served as President of the American Association of University Women and, like Gildersleeve, contributed to the formation of the International Federation of University Women.¹³¹ She established a strong foundation

of international interest at Sweet Briar College.

Succeeding Meta Glass in 1946, Martha B. Lucas continued Sweet Briar's international focus by supporting its programme in France. Lucas believed that American college students needed to be educated about international issues in order to understand the complexities of other cultures and be capable of working realistically and competently for world peace. Like Glass before her, Lucas was intimately involved in the campaigns for both peace and social feminism. She had studied in numerous European countries and earned a Ph.D. from the University of London. Her international interests came through clearly even in her inaugural address, delivered in 1946 as she became the fourth president of the forty-year-old Sweet Briar College.¹³² For her, engagement in other cultures was not trivial but, instead, urgently needed in the modern world. She encouraged international faculty to teach and international students to study at Sweet Briar College. Supportive of the Institute of International Education, she invited its director, Laurence Duggan, to speak at Sweet Briar in 1947 as part of a peace programme.

Of her own growing awareness of the importance of study abroad, Lucas wrote:

Returning to the U.S. with a British Ph.D. in Philosophy, I became increasingly aware, in my university teaching which followed, that I had brought from my studies overseas far more than a Ph.D. degree. I had gained new perspectives on my American culture and problems, the advantage of understanding, from experience, how students from Europe, Asia, South America and Africa looked upon us and upon each other.¹³³

Emile Langlois, current Director of the Sweet Briar Junior Year in France programme, notes Lucas' extensive international background. In addition to studying in the United Kingdom, she studied in France at the Alliance Française and the Sorbonne, and she studied on her own in Spain, Italy, and Germany. Very active in international issues she eventually worked on the State Department's Advisory Commission on International Education and Cultural Affairs.¹³⁴ Her conception of training for international peace was grounded in her own career preparation and practice.¹³⁵

In 1948 Joseph Barker, Professor of French at Sweet Briar College and Resident Director of the University of Delaware programme in France prior to World War II, told Lucas that the University of Delaware was no longer willing to undertake the programme's management. Lucas responded that Sweet Briar might adopt it. It was a project Lucas supported because of her own international interests, her commitment to peace, and her belief that

American students needed to be exposed to other nations to work effectively to make peace possible. Barker and Lucas negotiated with IIE officials to adopt the programme.¹³⁶ All-female Sweet Briar agreed to continue to admit male students into the programme.¹³⁷

The Sweet Briar faculty was motivated to support President Lucas's interest in international education, in part because of the growing sense of the catastrophic nature of conflict. "There was at that time a strong current of international concern on campus, mostly due to the fear of a nuclear conflict," says Emile Langlois. "This was the beginning of the New Atomic Age, and everyone had the feeling that preserving peace was an urgent task."¹³⁸ Sweet Briar College supported a variety of peace-oriented activities, hosting ten foreign scholars between 1946 and 1948, among them visitors from Vietnam and China; holding a major conference called "The Role of Colleges in Promoting Peace Through Understanding"; hosting international education specialists from around the nation and bringing attention to the college's international interests.¹³⁹ Under the leadership of Dr. Lucas and Professor Barker, commitment to foreign study meshed with Sweet Briar's other domestic and international efforts to educate its female student population.

In the first bulletin of the programme, President Lucas described the reason for Sweet Briar's interest abroad:

It is our conviction that the colleges have the essential and all-important responsibility to help bring the peoples of the world together in mutual understanding and lasting peace. A fundamental part of UNESCO's program for promoting understanding among the peoples of the world is an exchange of students and teachers between the schools, colleges, and universities of all nations. We are confident that the Junior Year in France can do so much to implement this purpose by enabling American students to know and work with students of other national backgrounds in a center which has been for so many centuries, and continues to be, the meeting place of scholars from all parts of the world.¹⁴⁰

Emile Langlois, citing this statement, notes that Sweet Briar's goal was to train its own women students and students of both genders from other schools to function capably in the international arena: "the first purpose of the Junior Year in France was therefore to advance the cause of peace and international citizenship."¹⁴¹

Training students with international capability also motivated Beaver College, which embarked on developing study abroad programmes and was soon to earn it the reputation as the leading U.S. college offering assisted admission into British Universities.¹⁴² In 1948 Beaver initiated the first of many programmes, offering a

directed travel and study programme in Western Europe. The first session attracted twenty-three of the college's 600 currently enrolled women.¹⁴³ In his extensive description of the steps taken to develop this programme, John A. Wallace documents that sponsors perceived a need among Beaver students for training in international economics.

Beaver College articulated a commitment to serious professional training for all of its students -- all of whom were women. The college's goals, writes Wallace, could be summed up in the words of Raymond Kistler, President of Beaver College, addressing incoming students in 1948: "Our basic purpose is two fold -- to help you learn how to live and how to make a living."¹⁴⁴ Statements from Beaver's Department of Commerce and Economics likewise expressed the importance of "the social and economic aspect of life, through finding the abundance in living by participating fully and intelligently in the social and economic activities of the community, state, and world." The Department supported the philosophy "that young women must be trained to help maintain an enduring peace."¹⁴⁵

With this stated goal to educate internationally -- and aware that it did not offer international economics at a time when the need for such a programme was

growing,¹⁴⁶ -- the department devised a course abroad to fill in the gap and contribute to the college's larger aims.¹⁴⁷ General courses were supplemented with professional training, key goals among the several articulated for the college and its female students.¹⁴⁸ Thus faculty organising Beaver College's initial foray into international education conceived its core to be a commitment to developing female students for a professional life. College sponsors expressed this concern by establishing programmes of professional training, aimed at contributing effectively to peace efforts.¹⁴⁹

While traditional beliefs ascribed a lack of serious academic intent or professional function in the education pursued by women and offered through study abroad, these alternative discourses, expressed by faculty from women's institutions like Sweet Briar and Beaver Colleges, continued after World War II the theme established after World War I: study abroad was an educational experience with important citizenship and career training functions.

Persistent Discourses of Peace and Professional
Preparation: International Understanding, Global
Competence, and the Global Society at the End of Century

The alternative discourses validating study abroad

because it helped students prepare for the world of work and become good international citizens continued from the period after World War II through the end of the twentieth century. After World War II, the Fulbright Programme was established by the federal government to support international educational exchange in the new peacetime climate.¹⁵⁰ John A. Wallace, President of the International Institute for Education, noted that the presence of Fulbright scholars on U.S. campuses helped promote all components of international education, including study abroad.¹⁵¹

With this growth, Paul Weaver stated, study abroad in the liberal tradition could result in international understanding: "As our world shrinks, our understanding must expand. This new dimension in liberal education is to be applauded because the objective is sound."¹⁵² (Weaver's statement is interesting because it reflects the self-defining power of the episteme, identified by Foucault.¹⁵³ As Weaver represents the alternative discourse that study abroad is worthwhile, he also believes this is a new goal for study abroad, not present in past programmes.)

This alternative belief in the importance of study abroad after World War II prompted a small group of exchange-oriented organisations to create the Council on

International Educational Exchange in 1947. The original impulse, described by the organisation's President and Executive Director, was:

as an organization to bring about understanding and cooperation amongst the peoples of the world by men and women who had just lived through the devastation of the Second World War. These people had been brought up under the yet fresh horror of the First World War, and were searching for ways to begin the process of creating a new world, better able to deal with the complex problems of change.¹⁵⁴

The Council established a wide variety of programmes in support of international exchange for both men and women; by the late 1960s, it was sponsoring its own study abroad programmes. Initial programmes in Western Europe had a professional focus, with teacher education as the foundation.¹⁵⁵ Subsequently, the Council developed a wide variety of summer, semester, and year-long academic programmes worldwide, expanding to close to forty in over twenty different countries, in fulfillment of these same goals.¹⁵⁶

CIEE has grown to include over two hundred member institutions, representing a diverse group of colleges and universities across the United States and a growing number of international institutions as well.¹⁵⁷ Study abroad programmes are organised by Council in conjunction

with its Academic Consortium membership, a group of more than 170 colleges and universities with a governing board that "provides quality review and direction."¹⁵⁸

Council's mission includes training academically strong students for professional futures in the global community: "The Council . . . is dedicated to helping people gain understanding, acquire knowledge, and develop skills for living in a globally interdependent and culturally diverse world."¹⁵⁹ The Council's mission and these initiatives reflect the on-going discourse about the serious functional purposes for educating men and women in foreign study programmes.

Statements published by the International 50 also reflect continuing discourse that includes the assumption of professional and citizenship preparation. Since "[t]he world is an interesting, and challenging, and often dangerous place," note Engerman and Marden, the International 50 train professionals to evaluate world politics in the international interest -- "scholars, diplomats, linguists and commentators" -- all professionals needed in the international arena:

Increasingly, all professionals need an international perspective to do their work. Business, law, medicine, science, librarianship, and education are now shaped by developments that occur beyond national borders. Perhaps most importantly,

specialists and others need to be surrounded by a public that is knowledgeable about international affairs. With significant global implications to so many decisions, both in public and private arenas, there must be many citizens who understand issues and conditions that underlie them and then vote or otherwise act accordingly.¹⁶⁰

Within this ambitious set of goals, the International 50 articulate a critical mission for undergraduate institutions: "It falls to the nation's undergraduate institutions, supported by the federal government and philanthropic organizations, to motivate and prepare persons to serve the international interest and to meet the United States responsibilities within it."¹⁶¹

In the last quarter century, terms such as 'global competence' and 'global society' have emerged to describe the need to prepare students to work in the international arena and function effectively as citizens.¹⁶² This language of global interdependence and economic competitiveness has entered the discourse, with these terms often voiced as motivations for supporting study abroad, in statements such as this one from *Educating for Global Competence*:

The role of the United States as a leader among nations is changing rapidly. Despite our position of international leadership for almost fifty years, we are ill-prepared for the changes in business, manufacturing, diplomacy, science, and technology that have

come with an intensely interdependent world. Effectiveness in such a world requires a citizenry whose knowledge is sufficiently international in scope to cope with global interdependence.¹⁶³

Thus, despite the power of the episteme that devalues study abroad as functionally irrelevant, the predominant discourse among its sponsors manifests the belief that study abroad and its liberal curriculum do train globally proficient men and women. To create an educated citizenry, able to act knowledgeably and competently in the national interest, is an American educational ideal,¹⁶⁴ reconstituted as an alternative belief in the discourse of study abroad sponsors, as the following table illustrates:

Table 4.8.

Summary

Alternative Beliefs and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of the Faculty and Administrators who Sponsor Study Abroad Programmes: Professional Purpose

ALTERNATIVE BELIEFS	TRADITIONAL BELIEFS EXHIBITED OR REINFORCED BY ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE
I. A PURPOSE FOR STUDY ABROAD WAS AND REMAINS TO TRAIN PARTICIPANTS FOR INTERNATIONAL CAREERS IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY	
From the start, with the University of Delaware programme, the goal was to use the liberal arts model including the social sciences and humanities, with its cultural components available at the Sorbonne to train participants for productive modern careers, responsive to the increasingly internationalised world. ¹⁶⁵ This tradition continued after World War II ¹⁶⁶ and is purposely stated in contemporary discourse. ¹⁶⁷	Study abroad sponsors, when advocating change, sometimes manifest the belief that previous to their own activities, study abroad and its liberal curriculum was not functionally purposeful. These statements can reinforce traditional belief.
Women were always admitted to the Delaware programme and were full participants in the programmes designed to prepare students for the professional world.	
II. A PURPOSE FOR STUDY ABROAD WAS TO OFFER BETTER TRAINING TO WOMEN AS THEY ENTERED THE CAREER PATHS OPEN TO THEM.	
The Smith programme, specifically for women students, was designed to prepare them for the career paths open to them in that era. ¹⁶⁸	

III. A PURPOSE OF STUDY ABROAD WAS AND REMAINS TO PROMOTE STUDENTS COMPETENT TO CONTRIBUTE TO INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND PEACE	
<p>From the start, another motive for developing and supporting study abroad was the promotion of international peace, widely articulated as a goal after both world wars¹⁶⁹ and reflected in the motives underlying programmes such as that of Beaver College,¹⁷⁰ programmes sponsored by CIEE,¹⁷¹ and programmes of the International 50.¹⁷²</p>	<p>Since women were expected to be educated to be good citizens, or at least, for many years, the mothers of good citizens (see Chapter Three) as part of the cultural purposes defined for American education, articulation of this goal might reinforce traditional notions of women's education and thereby reinforce the view of study abroad as a marginalised women's practice.</p>

The alternative discourse of sponsors of study abroad reveals that motives articulated for founding or supporting programmes included foreign language training and teacher education; training in international business, politics, and other forms of professional preparation; creating an educated citizenry capable of contributing to international peace; and, in sum, supporting global competency in an interdependent world.

These are all beliefs attaching significant functional worth to study abroad. More broadly, they offer an alternative discourse to traditional beliefs of the academy that constitute study abroad as a pursuit of

culture through liberal arts study, trivialised by its association with the belief that participants are wealthy women, uninterested in public or professional life, pursuing a Eurocentric curriculum though a European Grand Tour.

Programmes established from the start of the Junior Year Abroad model, after World War I, to the present have been founded upon an alternative episteme held by their academic sponsors, an episteme which has constituted study abroad as a functionally worthwhile and academically strong education for capable undergraduate women and men.

Part Three. Participant Discourse and Practice: Risk and Hardship

While these faculty sponsors see themselves serving able and purposeful students, their students have nonetheless been devalued by the traditional beliefs about study abroad. Traditional beliefs define programme participants as wealthy women without career goals who seek an undemanding overseas education pursued through the liberal arts for purposes of cultural acquisition, but little functionally worthy education.

By adapting Foucault's concept of genealogical inquiry, it is possible to illuminate the obscured

beliefs of these students -- including and especially the women upon whom so much of the devaluing episteme has been built -- and to allow their voices to be heard. Part Three of this chapter will explore an alternative discourse that emerges from the practice of participants who were and remain willing to take risks and undergo hardship to be educated overseas. Parts Four and Five will reveal among women participants a belief that study abroad offers them a unique opportunity, not always available domestically, for high quality academic study and professional preparation.

The Grand Tour paradigm described in Chapter Three presumes that study abroad involves the "inculcation of cultural attributes appropriate for a particular social class and station."¹⁷³ Academic or professional intentions are not assumed. The mode of travel is presumed to be luxuriant and comfortable, as befits the upper-class model of student presumed to undertake this experience -- a "luxury made possible by the accumulation of excess capital" and "a quest for social superiority," as suggested by Thorstein Veblen.¹⁷⁴

At the same time, within the study abroad community, a prevailing thread in the discourse formation about study abroad describes the sense of adventure motivating many students, building on the tradition of travel abroad

as an act of independence for women.¹⁷⁵ In 1959, John Garraty and Walter Adams found students' primary motives to be "the thirst for travel, adventure, and new ways of looking at life."¹⁷⁶ In 1988, the *Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange* described students who went abroad as "risk takers."¹⁷⁷

For the academic community holding the episteme that devalues study abroad, this sense of adventure could be seen as evidence to reinforce the traditional belief ascribing it Grand Tour characteristics. The discourse and practices of participants reveal an alternative set of beliefs about the circumstances under which study abroad is worth pursuing.

Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief in Situations of Political Unrest

Conceptions of the Grand Tour described in Chapter Three do not encompass study in politically threatening circumstances. Nonetheless, foreign study amidst political unrest has occurred frequently, prior to and in the aftermath of World War II and during contemporary terrorist periods. Throughout, as this section will illuminate, U.S. students -- at times especially women students -- have demonstrated their commitment to pursue education abroad, regardless of difficulties.

The years in Europe between the two world wars were tumultuous, with the rise of fascism in Germany and elsewhere, the revolution and political upheavals in Spain, and newly emerging political powers. Within this political climate, U.S. study abroad was born. When women set sail in 1925 from Smith College to Paris, they traveled on an ocean liner "complete with the champagne, roses, and confetti send-off as it left apprehensive family and friends weeping and waving at the New York pier."¹⁷⁸ This luxurious departure supported the image that they were wealthy women embarking on a Grand Tour, belying their serious academic intentions, but it did not foretell some of the experiences they would encounter while abroad.

The first major challenge was the unstable political situation in Spain in the 1930s. Smith's President Neilson established the college's second Junior Year Abroad programmes there, "undaunted by the brooding and unhappy conditions in Spain."¹⁷⁹ As Olmsted notes, the women ventured from the first day into a politically tumultuous environment. After the collapse of the monarchy, the stage was set to face the social and political issues of the time: women's suffrage, divorce, the formation of the republic, elections, and ongoing political debate. Political turmoil discouraged neither

the Smith students nor President Neilson himself, who shortly thereafter established study abroad programmes in Italy and Germany, scenes of equally turbulent politics.

Aware of escalating political and economic troubles in Europe, President Neilson wrote to parents of participants in 1934, indicating that:

In my opinion it is in practically every case much the most valuable year spent in college [A]s to the political conditions I do not think the risks are such as need give us any concern. We passed through the revolution (in Spain) which overthrew the monarchy and several disturbed periods since but no danger was incurred by any of our students.¹⁸⁰

The directors of the programme in Spain, Helen Peirce (in 1933-34) and Katherine Redding Whitmore (in 1935), each commented on how turmoil affected the student experience. Peirce reported "periods of alarm," "periods of danger," and "periods of defense."¹⁸¹ Whitmore wrote that "the revolution is over and we are none the worse for war."¹⁸² By 1935-36, the programme faced the dissolution of Spanish society and was not able to proceed. Rather than return to the United States, students relocated to other Smith programmes and remained abroad, undaunted by the difficult conditions they had already witnessed.¹⁸³

University of Delaware students persisted as well during the 1930s, eager to set sail for France despite

political turmoil. The German programme was closed in 1934 because of the political changes there,¹⁸⁴ but other programmes continued. Students chose to study in Europe as late as 1939, when political tensions in Europe forced all programmes to be cancelled.¹⁸⁵

Testimony from the secretary of the University of Delaware Foreign Study Committee, Miss Madeleine Forwood, about her experience abroad reveals a discourse of persistence in the face of political upheaval. Forwood accompanied students abroad in 1932 and 1939. Throughout these pre-World War II periods of turmoil, the majority of study abroad participants remained overwhelmingly female. Forwood stated that the most exciting year, bar none, was 1939, when "the war was rather imminent, yet we got in touch with Washington and everything was go ahead."¹⁸⁶

Study abroad programmes in Europe came to a halt at the onset of World War II, to be quickly re-established at war's end, with women's institutions once again leading the way. In this period of re-establishment, no one traveled in luxury. This time students set off "in true troop-ship style."¹⁸⁷

On their arrival in 1946, students encountered a Europe destroyed by war. One student recorded first impressions: "As we entered the harbor we saw not only

the shattered hull, but parts of half-sunken ships protruding from the water, their hulls dark against the water, pink in the early sunrise, a grim reminder of the horror that has only so recently ended."¹⁸⁸ Virginia Bowman, going abroad in 1947 with the Brethren Committee, accompanied by her husband John (later Executive Director of CIEE), commented that the devastation was everywhere.¹⁸⁹

The post-war upheavals did not daunt women from returning overseas. In the first year of the re-established Sweet Briar programme, 34 women and 33 men participated, a near-equal proportion due to the G.I. Bill. By year two (1949-50), the balance had shifted to 53 women and 20 men; by year three, to 60 women and 19 men. (See Appendix A, Table 3.7, Summary of Junior Year in France Groups, 1948-49 to 1992-93, previously cited.)

Firmly re-established in Paris, the Sweet Briar programme underwent several subsequent international crises. "The Berlin Blockade, the Korean War, the Indo-Chinese and Vietnam War, the Algerian War, the taking of the Suez Canal by the French and the British, May 1968, and, closer to us, the bombing of Libya, the growing number of terrorist acts, and now the threat of the war with Iraq," enumerates Junior Year Abroad Director Emile Langlois. "Each time it has required plans of actions,

and sometimes acts to protect the students."¹⁹⁰ Despite these challenges, every year the substantial majority of participants in the Sweet Briar programme have remained women. Langlois notes that unrest in the late 1960s in France had "a profound effect on the program," in large part because French universities closed down.¹⁹¹ In 1967-68, 68 men and 33 women registered in the Paris programme; in 1968-69, 62 women and 40 men; in 1969-70, 65 women and 34 men. In other words, the Sweet Briar programme experienced no significant shift or decline in women participants during the time when problems might have discouraged students from attending. This practice indicates a conception that study abroad was worth pursuing even in threatening circumstances.

Olmsted notes that Smith College students and programmes did not run away from political trouble either; indeed, she says, they followed it:

Just as the 60's made us explore, discover, uncover opportunities for study in Africa, the 70's and the Vietnam War occasioned our return again to the Far East and the Pacific Rim. For eight years, from 1966-1972, Smith operated a program at the University of Manila in the Philippines. Now the stress and political climate of the 80's centers more attention on Central and South America and the Caribbean.¹⁹²

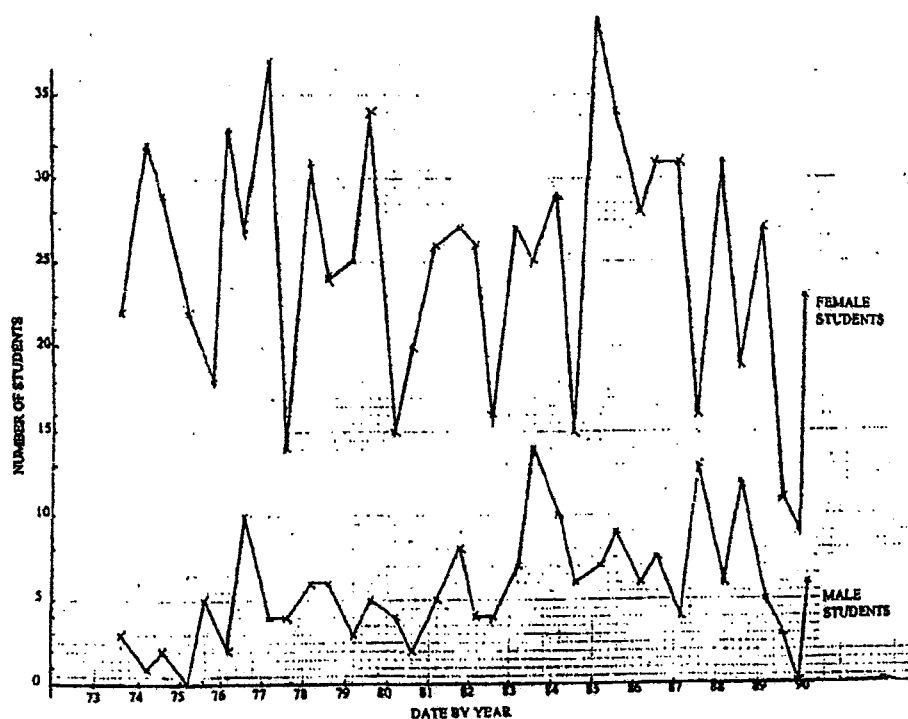
Smith programmes established in the Pacific Rim and

elsewhere, Olmsted argues, reflect the attraction to both sponsors and participants of areas emerging as politically and economically important, even when they may be experiencing unrest.

More recent terrorist threats have diminished neither the overall numbers of U.S. students abroad nor the proportion of women among them. Just after the hijacking of an American jet from the Pan-American Airlines fleet, in Beirut, Lebanon in the spring of 1987 -- a period marked by terrorism abroad and fear about overseas travel in the U.S. -- women still predominated in number, despite a drop in female participation and a rise in male,¹⁹³ as displayed in the following graph:

Table 4.9

CIEE Study Abroad Programmes in France, 1973-90:
Participation by Gender

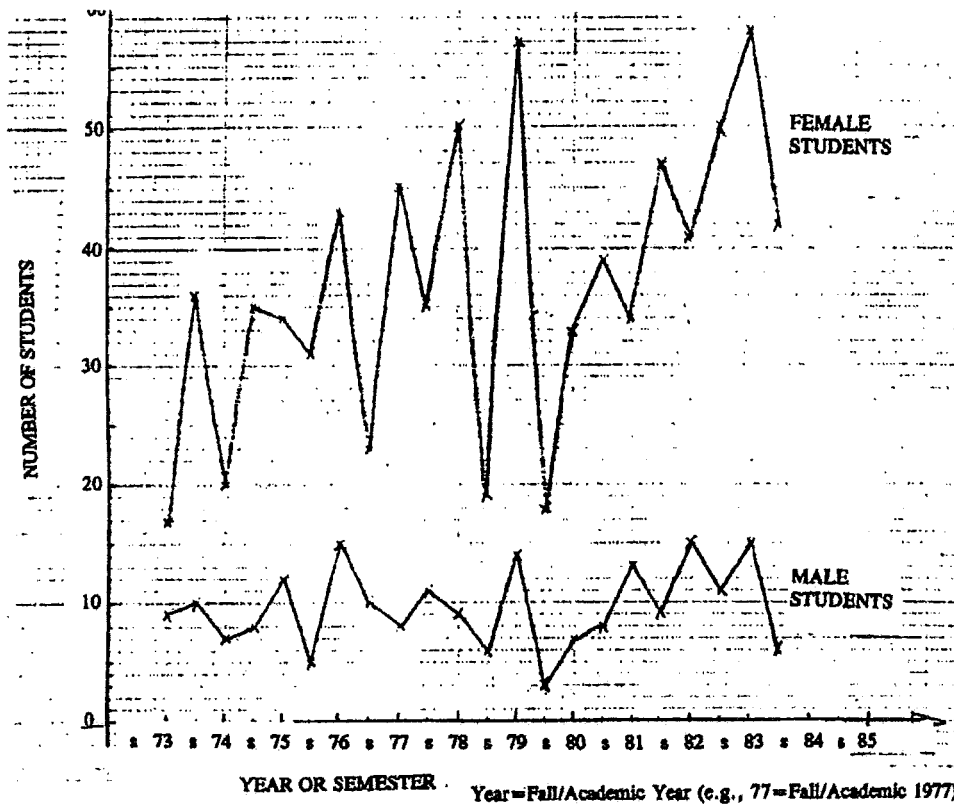


PROGRAM	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL
France	1156	330	1486

Similar patterns reveal themselves in CIEE numbers representing participation in programmes in Spain from 1973 to 1984, a period of time coinciding with the anti-Franco movement, the end of Franco's dictatorship, and a sustained period of Basque terrorism:

Table 4.10

CIEE Study Abroad Programmes in Spain (Undergraduate Only, 1973-84):
Participation by Gender



While those terrorist acts were not directed against Americans, they did deter American interest in travel to Spain, according to CIEE Director Jerry Johnson.¹⁹⁴ Still, female enrollment exceeded male. Women have consistently enrolled in greater numbers than men in study abroad, even during times of political crisis and terrorist threat.

Student willingness to study abroad in these difficult circumstances, including that of women, goes unrecognised in face of the powerful traditional beliefs that dismiss the experience of participants as a Grand Tour.

Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief in Physically Difficult Settings

Participants have manifested their belief that study abroad is worth pursuing during times of political upheaval. They have also pursued this study in physically difficult circumstances, rather than in the more luxurious environments suggested by image of a Grand Tour pursued by wealthy women, as so many believe study abroad to be. From the start, some sponsors observed that women would face less than comfortable circumstances. Smith College's President Neilson was aware, for instance, that when in France, students would live like the French, which might mean some unfamiliar physical discomforts.¹⁹⁵ Those discomforts did not approach those encountered two decades later by Americans returning to study abroad in Europe after World War II:

In the years immediately following World War II, life in Western Europe was disorganized and difficult. Travel was slow and frequently disrupted. Food was rationed,

even in Switzerland. University facilities were frequently not yet restored. Housing was scarce and in poor condition. Americans, including students, were encouraged to stay at home because of conditions in Europe. When the Salzburg Seminar -- a summer conference for European and American students -- convened for the first time in the summer of 1948, "all food, with the exception of fresh vegetables was shipped from the United States."¹⁹⁶

Sweet Briar students suffered similar discomforts. Dorothy Leet, President of Reid Hall, which re-opened in September 1947, wrote to Joseph Barker at Sweet Briar to describe the lives of the small number of American students in Paris in 1947-48:

I cannot remember a winter more interesting for the students studying in Paris. The French people have been wonderful to them, and the intellectual life in the theatre, music and art exhibits has filled all of their hours with the most stimulating programs. In Reid Hall they have not had any hardships at all, and while I may worry from time to time as to whether the next allotment of coal from the Embassy will arrive on time, we have never been short up to this time. We are having excellent food, we are having hot water each week-end, and I have rarely seen a group more content or in better health.¹⁹⁷

For Leet, post-war trials made studying abroad "more interesting." According to Sweet Briar Foreign Study Director Emile Langlois, conditions at Reid Hall were actually worse than Leet described. She could have

added, he said, "that there was no electricity on Fridays and until Saturday noon, that most apartments had not been repaired since 1939, that elevators did not work, that plumbing needed fixing."¹⁹⁸ France was still, according to the *New York Herald Tribune* of January 25, 1948, "a country of limited economy, where milk, flour and eggs were precious commodities."¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, American students chose to study there.

In the summer of 1948, Dr. Barker reported:

Good cuts of meat are unknown and the average Frenchman never even thinks of buying a steak. If you are invited for dinner and have kidneys you are being royally entertained, and that probably means your host will go meatless for days to make amends with the budget.²⁰⁰

Before their departure, the first group was advised "to bring or have sent to you: powdered milk, instant coffee, bouillon cubes, instant sweet cocoa, jams, butter, sugar, crackers, candy," none of which were available in Paris.²⁰¹ Professor Theodore Andersson remembered that "In the leaky, unheated houses and buildings of Paris we were all cold despite sweaters, overcoats, scarves, gloves, and often overshoes"; yet, as Professor Langlois notes, none of this deterred faculty or students.²⁰²

The rebirth of study abroad after World War II occurred not in the lap of luxury nor in an environment

that encouraged or even allowed frivolous travel. Yet participants, including again the women, consistently expressed their willingness to experience physical difficulty as part of the overseas educational experience.

Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief in Non-Western European Settings

This belief that study abroad is an experience worth pursuing even in face of physically challenging circumstances is also displayed when one analyses enrollments in the gradually expanding opportunities in less developed nations. U.S. study abroad programmes originally were founded in European sites and they remain largely located in Europe. As Chapter Three described, traditional beliefs that study abroad is Grand Tour experience and a cultural pursuit have been grounded in these customary European locations and the Eurocentric curriculum. Policy makers have advocated site diversification, believing in the inherent worth of studying in new regions²⁰³ and believing that, by establishing study sites outside Western Europe, they might reach a more diverse population and even increase male participation.²⁰⁴

In 1995-96, the year for which most recent

comparative educational statistics are available,²⁰⁵ almost two-thirds (64.8%) of students who studied abroad went to Europe, both Eastern and Western destinations. As high as it is, this figure is actually the lowest since the IIE survey began, in 1985, when nearly four out of five (79.6%) studied in Europe.²⁰⁶ The change signifies that in the last decade, a small but growing number of students have chosen non-European sites for study abroad.²⁰⁷

Traditional beliefs frame study abroad as a European experience chosen by women in the spirit of the Grand Tour. As described above, policy makers advocate developing programmes in non-European locations for reasons including increasing male enrollment. However, again in a practice reflecting an alternative belief system, data collated on gender by the Council on International Educational Exchange indicate that among students choosing Third World study sites, 61.4 percent were women.²⁰⁸ The proportion approximates the 3:2 ratio which has for so long characterised U.S. study abroad gender enrollment, no matter what the destination.

Women's interest in non-conventional sites is also reflected in applications to the National Security Education Program, a federally funded program to promote study in Third World nations.²⁰⁹ A stated NSEP policy

objective is to encourage "gender-balanced participation" -- in other words, to increase male participation. This objective led to acceptance of a pool of finalists in which 54 percent were female, though more (57%) had applied.²¹⁰ Both the CIEE study and the NSEP statistics indicate a substantial female interest in Third World programmes.

This practice on the part of women to study in developing settings, endure physical hardship, and experience political risk reflects an ongoing discourse of commitment to study abroad, even when circumstances are difficult. Foucault argues that the episteme defines a practice, recognising in it what is normalised and excluding what is not.²¹¹ Just as with the other alternative discourses, those components of participant discourse and practice which appear to conform to the episteme are incorporated into it, while those that do not conform remain excluded alternative beliefs, as demonstrated in this table:

Table 4.11

Summary

Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Participants in Study Abroad Programmes: Risk and Worth of Pursuing Study Abroad

ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE	TRADITIONAL BELIEFS EXHIBITED OR REINFORCED BY ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE
1. MANY STUDENTS, IN THE MAJORITY WOMEN, HAVE PURSUED A STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE IN SPITE OF HARDSHIP, POLITICAL UNREST, AND PHYSICAL DISCOMFORTS.	
Smith women persisted while located in politically tumultuous European sites, including Spain, Italy, and Germany before WWII ²¹² , as did Delaware students, in the majority women. ²¹³	Pre-WWI transatlantic travel aboard passenger ships generated a belief that study abroad was a luxurious Grand Tour for privileged women. ²¹⁴
Post-WWII study abroad participants, again predominantly women, traveled on troop ships ²¹⁵ to European sites characterised by post-war political and physical devastation. ²¹⁶	Discussions of women's yearning for or interest in travel can reinforce the Grand Tour norm.
Study abroad in the latter half of the twentieth century has been pursued, always by a majority of women, at sites of political unrest and danger. ²¹⁷ Indeed study sites were developed in regions whose visibility was enhanced by political crisis. ²¹⁸	
Students have endured hardships in their living conditions in order to pursue study abroad. ²¹⁹	
2. WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN HAVE BEEN WILLING TO STUDY IN THIRD WORLD DESTINATIONS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH LUXURIOUS CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS.²²⁰	While there is growing interest in Third World destinations, the majority of study abroad programmes remain in European locations.

In sum, women have clearly evinced an interest in studying in locations even where living conditions are

less than comfortable, let alone luxurious. In numbers usually greater than those of men, they have willingly chosen settings that reflect an alternative discourse that validates study abroad as sufficiently worthwhile to experience discomfort and to take risks, personal and political, to pursue it.

This validating discourse is obscured within the academy because of the power of the episteme to determine what is respected. More broadly, this episteme continues to frame study abroad not only as a European Grand Tour but also as a predominantly Eurocentric, liberal arts-oriented experience; as an experience primarily for female participants lacking in serious career or academic interests; and as a lesser educational offering than those found in the United States. A genealogical perspective reveals alternative discourses among study abroad participants about these topics as well, as this chapter will now describe.

Part Four. Participant Discourse and Practice: The Articulation of Academic Motives For Studying Abroad

That study abroad is academically weak is a persistent theme in the traditional beliefs about of study abroad in higher education institutions. This section will explore the alternative discourses conducted

by participants about their academic commitments -- once again, a discourse ignored by so many of their peers and teachers.

For example, traditional beliefs casting study abroad as academically weak found voice in a variety of descriptions when study abroad educators collected "mythologies of going abroad" for the American education abroad magazine, *Transitions Abroad*. Students who had not pursued foreign education were asked why they chose *not* to study abroad. Some common reasons were: a belief that study abroad benefited only those interested in studying foreign cultures; a belief that study abroad hindered rather than advanced academic progress; a belief that study abroad would not contribute to professional development; and a belief that study abroad might amount to a frivolous experience. In the students' words:

I'm not a foreign language major, so your
programs have nothing to offer me.

I'll fall behind academically.

Going abroad will never do anything for my
career!

It will jeopardize my chances of getting
into graduate/medical/law schools.

My parents think I'll waste my time when I
should be studying.²²¹

Other students specifically voiced the traditional belief

that study abroad offered weaker academic education than domestic education in domestic settings:

Science isn't as developed in other countries.

Science students have no reason to go abroad.

There are no opportunities for students in the sciences and engineering.

They won't have computers there.²²²

Students are members of the higher education discourse community. Those who choose not to study abroad hold many of the same traditional beliefs that faculty and administrators, considering it an academically insignificant experience.

This section identifies the alternative discourse of those who chose to go abroad. This inquiry, like earlier ones in this chapter, will focus on the motives of the women who have been marginalised by traditional beliefs.. The analysis will illuminate participant beliefs about the academic value of study abroad from the earliest years up to the present day.

Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief: Academic Expectations of Early Participants

Programmes established in the United States after

World War I were viewed as academically rigorous and valuable by the faculty who supported them. As this chapter has demonstrated, they envisioned programmes populated by students, women as well as men, with strong academic records. The Delaware programme was created for high achievers; the Smith programme in Paris was an honours programme.²²³

The discourse of participants reveals parallel beliefs. These students saw themselves as academically capable students seeking a demanding educational experience. Letters and surveys from the early years of the Delaware programme (1923-36) demonstrate that both male and female participants chose to study abroad in order to develop academic skills and abilities. (Neither male nor female students described it as pre-professional, but that concept was alien to a culture in which, as previously described, male study was presumed to be professional while female was presumed cultural.)

In 1933 the University of Delaware Committee on Foreign Study conducted a survey of all members of the Delforian Society, the alumni association for participants in its Foreign Study Plan programmes, 64 percent of whom were women.²²⁴ Committee Secretary Edwin C. Byam conducted the survey in January, when the programme had reached ten years old, sending out a

questionnaire designed to help plan for the programme's future "growth and serviceability."²²⁵ Of the total of 485 alumni, 127 women returned the questionnaire. Their responses revealed that 29.13 percent had attended graduate school since study abroad; 88.19 percent considered that study abroad had provided scholastic benefits; and 62.99 percent felt that foreign study had helped them develop professional skills.

Of the women responding, 33.86 percent were students, most of them graduate students, since the survey harked back to their junior year experience abroad. The next largest portion of respondents (12.6 percent) were in business. A smaller proportion (11.02 percent) considered themselves homemakers, and the smallest number (0.79 percent) were involved in the arts. In this small vanguard group of women studying abroad during the first decade of the Delaware programme, almost half went on to graduate study or professional work, manifesting a conception of themselves and their education as both academically strong and professionally oriented -- a conception not accommodated by the traditional beliefs describing women's intent. (See Appendix A, Table 4.12, University of Delaware Committee on Foreign Study Alumni Survey: Alumnae Occupations and Professional Affiliations.)

Some individuals wrote comments to this effect. Fredrica Harriman thought her study abroad years in France, in 1923-24 and 1926-27, became 'major factors' in her effort to secure a professional position. Ms. Harriman valued the academic quality of her year abroad: "I consider it the most beneficial year in my education -- more so than any of the other three years."²²⁶ Helen Fisher, who studied abroad in 1931-32, called the scholastic benefit of her experience "tremendous."²²⁷ Edith Lucas, also a participant in 1931-32, said that her experience abroad produced "Discipline in writing and in studying generally."²²⁸ Kathryn A. Rauh (Mrs. R. T. Krogh), abroad in 1930-31, said that the experience taught her how to study so well that her academic average rose from 82 or 83 in her first two years of college to 91 and 93 in her senior semesters.²²⁹

Information from the Delfor Alumni Directories reveals the interests of many early participants, especially the women. Helen Fisher, mentioned above, went on to complete an M.A. degree at the Fletcher School and entered the magazine publishing industry. Susanna Edmondson (a member of the foreign study class of 1927-28) became an economics professor at Columbia University. The Record Book on 'Delforeans' from 1923 to 1936 identified the occupations of as many women as possible:

74 were listed as married
7 of those 74 listed an additional
occupation
37 were listed as an instructor or
teacher
35 were listed as being part of the
business world
21 were earning an M.A. or a Ph.D.
degree
5 were social workers

In other words, women among those 174 early foreign study alumnae undertook professional or graduate activities following their studies abroad.²³⁰ These women appear to have chosen study abroad as part of a larger career intention, which included academic achievement and professional involvement -- again a practice in this alternative community quite different from that conveyed within the traditional discourse about study abroad and its female participants.

Mrs. Beatrice F. Davis (née Beatrice Hume Farr) said in an interview conducted by Myron L. Lazarus for the Oral History Program of the University of Delaware that her graduate school and career goals were sidetracked when she turned down a fellowship at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, forced to do so by a serious illness in her family. She was not able to resume graduate study and pursue a fulfilling profession until mid-life. Even then, after her child was grown, she

considered that her commitment to advanced study and professionalism arose from her early foreign study experience. "I got a Master's Degree in library science and from then on I just have had an increasingly interesting and active professional life," said Mrs. Davis. "And I know that part of the success of that life has been the fact that I have had this [study abroad] experience. I use it a good bit now."²³¹

From the beginning, programme participants engaged in an alternative discourse that validated study abroad programmes and their academic worth. Robert Pace's examination of Delaware and Sweet Briar alumni, conducted in the 1950s (when many of Delaware alumni were still living), confirms that students reflected in their discourse and practice serious academic goals in their studies abroad. Of the Delaware alumni, 302 responded to Dr. Pace's questionnaire; of the Sweet Briar alumni, 144 responded. Of the Delaware alumni responding, 75 percent of whom were women, two-thirds had studied beyond the bachelor's degree level, suggesting that all students, male and female, in Delaware's early programmes were motivated academically.²³²

In his book, *American Juniors on the Left Bank: An Appreciation of the Junior Year in France*, Francis M. Rogers talks about the academic quality of study abroad

just before and after World War II. He speaks as both a participant and a sponsor, since he attended the University of Delaware's programme in Paris then went on to become Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures and Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. Remembering the Delaware programme, Rogers wrote that: "In my day the famed 'Cours de Civilisation Française' were excellent."²³³

Further evidence shows the high expectations that drew post-war students into study abroad. Based on a project conducted at Oregon State University, a Carnegie Commission study on international programmes at American institutions of higher education questioned what students valued in a study abroad programme.²³⁴ Responses included:

- The program should encourage the students to think. It should not simply be composed of lecture courses, but, to the extent possible, should be conducted in the manner of a seminar.
- The program should lead to mastery of the language of the host country.
- The program should have flexibility. It should provide for independent study where courses are not offered regularly. Even in the formal course areas there should be options to suit individual interests, such as art, business, or entomology.²³⁵

Participants who requested programme features such as these were engaging in a discourse of academic worth, an alternative discourse which existed from the start of Sorbonne-model study abroad programmes after World War I and, as the next section will argue, continues today, to define study abroad as an academically valuable pursuit.

Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief: Recent Academic Motives Articulated for Studying Abroad

Statements expressing serious academic motives for seeking study abroad were reported in the later twentieth century when the Council on International Educational Exchange published a profile of students abroad, produced through a survey conducted by Jolene Koester -- one of relatively few surveys focusing on students' motives for studying abroad rather than the consequences of their participation.

The Koester study, described in Chapter Three, was conducted in 1985. It describes the motivations students express for choosing education abroad. Koester investigated motives by analysing participation in alternative study abroad modes: students in programmes sponsored by U.S. institutions; students enrolled in foreign universities; students developing their own

agenda for academic credit; and students choosing study-travel opportunities (programmes with the strongest holiday component). In all cases, the majority of participants were female.²³⁶ The Koester survey offered students a list of choices by which they could rank-order the following motives for overseas study: academic performance, improving education, improving foreign language, gaining knowledge of the country, having fun, meeting people, and improving self-confidence.²³⁷

Few students, even those electing the more holiday-oriented study tours, stated their major motive to be 'personal development' or 'leisure travel.' Fully 75 percent of those on study tours and more than 80 percent in every other study mode identified more serious motives for going abroad.²³⁸ Improving academic performance and improving education, both clearly stated academic motives, ranked high in three of the four programme modes -- a finding that describes an alternative to the traditional discourse about student motives.²³⁹

Two responses are more difficult to characterise in light of traditional beliefs, however: improving foreign language and gaining knowledge of a country. Improving foreign language is part of the liberal arts tradition of study abroad; gaining knowledge of a country could be understood as cultural acquisition. Yet these statements

indicate academic motivations as well. Indeed, in every mode, no less than 75 percent of all participants identified an academic over a personal motive for pursuing study abroad.²⁴⁰

The CIEE/Darden market study, like Koester's, is also designed to study motivations for going abroad. This study, too, reveals discourse that can be heard to sometimes sustain traditional beliefs while it also reveals alternative beliefs.²⁴¹

In this study, only 7.1 percent of all students going abroad identified recreation as a primary motive. Instead they ranked learning a language (37.7 percent), learning about another culture (31.2 percent), and gaining expertise in a specific discipline (11.9 percent) higher. (See Table 3.4, Appendix A, for a graph plotting students' answers to the question of why they chose to study abroad.) Students did, however, recognise the pleasures of international travel, naming recreation as the third of their top three reasons for going abroad; the first and second were interest in international culture and improved language skills.²⁴²

Taken together, Koester's findings and the CIEE/Darden market study results describe an alternative discourse of serious academic intent among later twentieth century participants, despite some components

of the discourse which reinforce traditional beliefs and the episteme.

Investigation of the early programmes -- the programmes that resulted in the development of traditional beliefs -- reveals clearly the academic motivations and expectations articulated by programme participants. The traditional beliefs about study abroad cast comments such as 'learning a foreign language,' 'gaining knowledge of a foreign country,' or, most especially, 'learning about another culture' as statements describing an interest in a Grand Tour pursued for purposes of cultural acquisition, as Chapter Three illustrated.

Nonetheless, Koester concludes that most students are motivated to study overseas by a strong interest in academic studies, which they perceive as valuable:

These students also overwhelmingly associated their proposed trip with a *strong emphasis on knowledge and academic experiences as source and goal for international travel*. When asked to indicate source of interest and major personal goal, these students consistently selected knowledge related choices. Although the self-report nature of the information may exaggerate students' claims, the fact that so many are so predisposed to identify learning as important for their overall experience is significant.²⁴³

This interest is demonstrated through the discourse of participants about their academic intent, as the following table summarises:

Table 4.13

Summary

Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Participants in Study Abroad Programmes: Academic Quality and Goals

ALTERNATIVE BELIEFS	TRADITIONAL BELIEFS EXHIBITED OR REINFORCED IN ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE
1. PARTICIPANTS IN STUDY ABROAD PROGRAMMES, INCLUDING FEMALES, ARE DESCRIBED AS HIGH ACADEMIC ACHIEVERS.	
Participants in the initial study abroad programmes, just after WWI (including female students) were considered capable academically. ²⁴⁴	
Participants in post-war programmes have also been described as capable. ²⁴⁵	

<p>2. PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING THE MAJORITY FEMALE PARTICIPANTS, CONSISTENTLY IDENTIFY ACADEMIC MOTIVATIONS OVER OTHER MOTIVATIONS FOR STUDY ABROAD.</p>	
<p>Participant motivations, in their own words, reveal serious academic interests among those in the pre-WWII programmes²⁴⁶ as well as those immediately after WWII.</p>	<p>Motivations such as "improving foreign language," "gaining knowledge of the country,"²⁴⁷ and "learning about another culture"²⁴⁸ can invite derogatory interpretation, describing study abroad as a Grand Tour for trivial cultural acquisition.</p>
<p>In studies done at the end of the 20th century, academic motivations for choosing foreign study are cited more frequently than any other motives (i.e., over 75% of the time in all available studies).²⁴⁹</p>	<p>Students do recognise and articulate the pleasures of travel as an important motivation.²⁵⁰ Sometimes they rank as unimportant learning more about a specific discipline. These motivations can suggest other than academic reasons for study abroad.</p>

In sum, many students have expressed academic motives for attending study abroad programmes (and choosing study abroad over other travel options), just as their academic mentors have articulated serious motives for establishing, operating, and supporting these programmes. The statistics and testimonies brought to light in this inquiry reveal how many women have understood the role of study abroad in their education. Their choice to go overseas has reflected an alternative set of beliefs about its worth, manifesting a conception

of study abroad as a worthy academic endeavor, pursued even in difficult times and settings to develop academic abilities and knowledge. More broadly, the discourse of this community presents an alternative to the vision that study abroad is chosen as a Grand Tour by women uninterested in academic pursuits.

Part Five. Participant Discourse, Practice, and Belief:
Professional Training and the Liberal Curriculum

The alternative discourse of sponsors and participants has manifested the belief that the liberal curriculum is a valid field for study. Traditional beliefs casting study abroad participants as women who attend weak programmes, usually in the liberal arts, ascribe to them the motive of cultural broadening, seeing them at best as cultural guardians and at worst as social dilettantes. These beliefs describe the academic programmes for these women as lacking in serious professional training purposes. Men, who study abroad in far fewer numbers, are assumed to be planning a professional life regardless of their sojourn abroad, and the belief is expressed that most men remain "in the United States to build their careers."²⁵¹ Once again the discourse displays alternative beliefs about the value of

preparing overseas for professional, vocational, or other job-related skills.

This section will adapt Foucault's concept of genealogy to bring to light the alternative discourse of motivations expressed about the function of foreign education -- a discourse manifesting a strong interest in utilising this venue for professional preparation. Foucault argues that colleges and universities, and their constituencies, are institutions where intellectual inquiry most often reinforces beliefs that underlie the social system.²⁵² These institutions are defined by and reinforce visions of their own worth and function. Study abroad developed, as Chapter Three has described, when the value and function of institutions of higher education derived from preparing male students for the marketplace. It is in this context that the dialogue of women's motives for education abroad formed and traditional beliefs emerged. By identifying beliefs in American culture about the reasons for educating women, this thesis establishes a foundation for understanding the perceptions of female participants about the professional utility of study abroad.

American Discourse about Women and Educational Purpose:
The Implications for Study Abroad

In order to identify beliefs held by study abroad participants about their career interests and the contribution study abroad might make to them, this section will examine the beliefs manifest about women's education in the discourse and practice of the American academy: the purposes of education for women, women's role in society, and the function of the liberal curriculum in the education of women. Shifting opinions as to the function of higher education for women have already been described in Chapter Three. Since these perceptions frame women's academic and career preparation choices, this section will recapitulate the previous discussion and further explore these views.

To review, male education has been perceived as purposeful and serious, preparing for material success, professional responsibility,²⁵³ and public service.²⁵⁴ For example, Harvard University, America's earliest institution and still the figurehead for all the nation's universities, served an all-male constituency until the middle of the twentieth century.²⁵⁵ Harvard's purpose, and the purpose of the other emerging colleges, was to train the ruling class.²⁵⁶ That education was therefore intended for men.²⁵⁷

Women slowly gained access to higher education within the United States, yet their goals were presumed to be personal and cultural, not professional.²⁵⁸ As Chapter Three indicates, it was assumed that women needed education to enhance their roles as caretakers and nurturers, not to empower them as professionals or leaders.²⁵⁹ Both men and women studied the liberal arts, but the function of their studies was understood to be different. For men, liberal studies, and soon thereafter the new social sciences, laid a path of professional education.²⁶⁰ For women, they represented a way to finish out one's personal development.²⁶¹

The purposes perceived by early twentieth-century women for their educations often differed from popular belief. Evidence suggests that even then, in their alternative community, women articulated serious professional motives for going to college, preparing to support themselves financially and supporting their "quest for intellectual as well economic independence."²⁶² As Chapter Three outlines, many chose the academic route for self-sufficiency, intellectual development, and professional aspirations,²⁶³ conducting a discourse and practice which did not fit with the set of accepted beliefs about the function of education for women.

Educational Access

Just as the presumed purpose for educating women differed from that for educating men, women's access to education also differed from that of males.²⁶⁴ While women students contributed in large numbers to the great modernisation that swept through American universities prior to and just after World War I,²⁶⁵ they continued to specialise in the liberal arts, with some vocational training in nursing, teaching, or the emerging discipline of home economics.²⁶⁶ They found themselves largely excluded from the new professional disciplines described earlier in this chapter. Before World War I, women received little encouragement to attend graduate school.²⁶⁷ They struggled for inclusion in law and medical schools,²⁶⁸ with some success, but then discovered that they were still by and large excluded from professional practice.²⁶⁹

Some American women described this lack of access to graduate and professional education as a motive to study overseas, particularly in Germany, at the end of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1879 M. Carey Thomas, leading female educator and President of Bryn Mawr, unable to gain sufficient access to education in the United States to accomplish her academic goals, went to Zurich to complete her Ph.D. degree.²⁷⁰ Margaret

Rossiter calls the attempts from 1870 to 1900 by women to gain higher university degrees, both in the U.S. and in Germany, "a process of quiet infiltration, a kind of educational 'guerilla warfare' or slow 'war of attrition' against the universities"; their numbers eventually urged a "change in policy, which could now be seen as harmless, 'only fair,' long overdue, and quietly enacted."²⁷¹

A small number of women did pursue their studies abroad successfully in these early decades.²⁷² In the U.S., when women were accepted into graduate schools, they sometimes found that professors did not have the same expectations for them as for their male counterparts.²⁷³ "While for men the pattern of extending educational years for professional training after college became conventional after 1910, for women the decision to attend a liberal arts college and to continue with further education involving long years of expense and commitment usually meant having to delay or renounce the option of marriage," writes Barbara Solomon. "As going to college became the acceptable way to spend late adolescent years for the middle-class girl, so the notion of continuing in professional training became the nonconforming act of a few women."²⁷⁴ Few women advanced in the fields of medicine, law, or engineering, battling tradition. Their circumstances made it difficult to

devote themselves to a long and expensive professional training programme.²⁷⁵

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as respect for the professional world increased and humanistic and social science disciplines diversified,²⁷⁶ high-quality and broadly defined professional training became part of the mission of the American university (see earlier in this chapter). New career paths depended upon a foundation of professional education. These careers garnered greater respect, as did the theoretically based training for them.²⁷⁷

Women played a part in these trends, but they did not always fully partake of them, gaining no more than 10 percent of the degrees offered in the new disciplines nor more than 10 percent of the employment in these fields by mid-century.²⁷⁸ Women neither gained access nor participated in early professional training programmes in the universities. As Patricia Graham points out, "college was not substantially at variance with society's expectations for men. . . . However, since society had quite different expectations for women, the new rationale for college attendance did not apply to them. . . . Being an undergraduate with the independence that implied, the opportunities it afforded for subsequent employment and the threat to purity and piety that the

campus provided, violated these canons."²⁷⁹ Professional education was a male bastion. Women studied the liberal arts, a study that was presumed, at least for women, to encourage the flowering of the mind but not to prepare for the world of work.

Job Access

Women's lack of full access to professional education paralleled their lack of full access to that world of work in the early twentieth century. "There was no glorious past when women professionals were ever treated equally with men."²⁸⁰ Some patterns changed in the first decades of the twentieth century, in part because of economics. "Unlike women graduates of earlier generations, those of the 1920s and 1930s knew that they would either take a job or pursue further study in preparation for professional work."²⁸¹ War caused women even more seriously to consider themselves part of the working world. In the years between World War I and World War II, the typical college woman worked at least for a short time after college.²⁸² During both world wars, the absence of men at home produced a great need for skilled and professional employees, and women filled those positions in greater numbers than ever before. "Positions were everywhere open to us; it never occurred

to us at that time that we were taken only because men were not available," said Marjorie Nicolson, who received her B.A. from Michigan State University in 1914. "The millennium had come; it did not occur to us that life could be different. Within a decade shades of the prison house began to close, not upon the growing boy, but upon the emancipated girls."²⁸³ Professional doors that had opened for women during the war years closed afterwards.

In the 1920s, when America's first study abroad programmes were taking shape, women also represented a large proportion of the professional work force: 45 percent in the 1920s, for example. That percentage began declining in 1930 until it reached its lowest point in 1960,²⁸⁴ when women participated only slightly in traditional professions. By the early 1980s, women comprised 14 percent of all lawyers and physicians in the United States.²⁸⁵

Women more often filled the semi-professions, including social work and librarianship, as well as older female-dominated occupations such as teaching and nursing.²⁸⁶ The label 'semi-profession' was a denigrating term, describing fields which were perceived as "less demanding, less permanent, and more appropriate for women than the prestigious ones reserved for men" -- fields that were "perceived as continuing and updating the

female tradition of service to society."²⁸⁷ It was accepted that women would move into traditional service fields, most of which -- such as nursing and teaching -- had not originally required college training.

This move toward professionalisation ultimately affected teacher education. At first, teaching credentials were not associated with baccalaureate-level education. Would-be teachers followed a training programme,²⁸⁸ yet teaching -- shown by many studies to be the career most often chosen by women -- did represent "a route to advancement."²⁸⁹ Teaching was the "principal occupation of the college woman from the beginning."²⁹⁰ Women taught, among many reasons, because it was a way to earn a living; because they enjoyed studying and wanted to teach; and because teaching salaries were often better than those of other semi-professions.²⁹¹ Teacher training at higher educational levels emerged in the 1920s, and was eventually viewed as professional training.²⁹² Teaching was women's leading profession.²⁹³

In the period after World War II, like that after World War I, the boom of jobs available to women abruptly came to an end.²⁹⁴ Questions resurfaced about women's social role and the purposes for their education. Once again, the idea surfaced that college should prepare a woman for "female roles" and foster "aspirations strictly

within bounds."²⁹⁵ Meanwhile, amidst enthusiasm and exuberance about the family, males flooded the halls of higher education, supported substantially by the GI Bill. Women, expected to marry within three years after graduation, still worked in large numbers²⁹⁶:

Women had a substantial place in the labor force because there were more jobs than men could fill. By the mid-20th century, women's participation belied or contradicted the stereotyped view of their functioning exclusively as wives and mothers. That educated women with or without children worked for most of a good part of their adult lives became increasingly the norm and not the exception, despite expectations to the contrary.²⁹⁷

Women worked, Solomon emphasises, although society -- manifesting the power of the episteme, as Foucault describes -- maintained the illusion that they did not. Women made up 65 percent of the labor force between 1950 and 1960, with college women forming "an integral part of this trend," as sociologist Alice Rossi put it in her speech, "The Equality of the Sexes; An Immodest Proposal."²⁹⁸

Married women worked; single college women worked. Educated women worked in a variety of fields. But as in the period before the war, women worked predominantly in fields traditionally identified as female: "teaching, nursing, social work, and low-level management,"²⁹⁹

experiencing only some increased access to the traditionally male professions.³⁰⁰

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed the emergence of the feminist movement in the United States. In the last full census, conducted in 1990, 81 percent of women with a college degree participated in the U.S. labor force.³⁰¹ The feminist movement had a strong impact on the access of women to professional education and careers, but traditions die hard, as historian Barbara Solomon states: "Liberal arts education for women has entered a new stage; but it should be remembered that although in the 1980s collegiate access is greater than ever, women are still the second sex in most of academia. . . . Even equity in numbers would not assure equality."³⁰²

In the period from 1920 to the present, women not only manifested strong interest in professional, vocational, and/or job training in education; they also increasingly held jobs, no matter whether they were single, married, or with children. During the same period, the types of job accessible to women, even educated women, have often been those associated with nurturing and service, especially teaching and liberal arts-based professions such as writing. So "whether or not the college authorities intend to prepare them, the [female] students themselves use their education" for

professional gains,³⁰³ yet without recognition -- a striking example of the power of an episteme to render a practice ignored.

The work of the educated woman, whether vocational, professional, or otherwise, has long been grounded in the liberal education tradition. Any aspect of that education, including study abroad, has carried the potential for professional development and career preparation. These characteristics of women's experience through twentieth-century America are neither validated nor recognised within the framework of the prevailing traditional beliefs.³⁰⁴

While the tradition has been that education should train women to serve and nurture,³⁰⁵ American women manifest a discourse and practice which articulates the purposes of liberal education to train their minds and hone their skills, to function as independent thinkers and, in increasing numbers, to gain independence and earning ability. This alternative conception of the role of liberal education for women, excluded by traditional beliefs, is described in the conclusion to Barbara Solomon's history of women's education, a chapter entitled "The Promises of Liberal Education -- Forgotten and Fulfilled."³⁰⁶

"More women in the United States had gained access

to higher education at the start of World War II than in other modern countries, yet this access did not ensure that they could use that education as fully as men could," writes Solomon. "Liberal education had made a real difference in women's lives, but their choices were still limited by personal inhibitions as well as public barriers. The course of development of the educated woman did not become any simpler in the next four decades."³⁰⁷ Solomon presumes that liberal education has been for women an avenue of vocational and professional training, not a mode of cultural acquisition. This alternative vision of liberal education for women, different from traditional beliefs, frames the alternative discourses of the women who have followed its path through study abroad.

Alternative Discourse: Beliefs about Study Abroad,
Professional Preparation, and the Liberal Curriculum

The liberal arts, encompassing the social sciences and the humanities, have been the predominant academic pursuits among American women, not only at home but abroad.³⁰⁸ In the academic world, the belief that the liberal arts no longer offered a training ground for professional or career-level work, especially for women, contributed in the discourse formation of traditional

beliefs about study abroad and acted as a self-fulfilling prophecy. As mentioned in Chapter Three, that more women than men study abroad as undergraduates and more in the humanities than in professional fields supports the presumption that undergraduate study abroad is not a serious endeavour.³⁰⁹ Nonetheless, many women have expressed in their discourse and practice a belief that study abroad in the liberal curriculum supports their professional goals: "Significant numbers of study-abroad participants expect to have international dimensions in their future careers and hope that time abroad will enhance their marketability," state Cooper and Grant. "U.S. students in higher education show marked career orientations, and those going abroad more often than not link their vocational goals in some way to their international academic experiences."³¹⁰ The majority of these students are, of course, women, most of them pursuing a liberal arts curriculum.

Robert Woodberry, President and Chancellor of the University of Maine System and former Chair of the Board of Directors of the Council on International Educational Exchange, comments that:

Within the several purposes of priorities of higher education the most important is to develop a deeper understanding of the human condition and possibility, to explore the

complexity and variety of the human drama and the physical world.

We often refer to this as a liberal education. In addition, however, we expect higher education to prepare one for a career or profession and to nurture the attitudes and capabilities appropriate to citizenship.

These purposes are inextricably intertwined. And the extent to which each has taken an international imperative is obvious.³¹¹

An alternative discourse that explicitly professes connections between liberal education and professional training developed in the earliest stages of study abroad in the United States. As described earlier in this chapter, Delaware's President Hullihen was motivated to begin that school's study abroad programme largely by the desire to provide students with the international experience necessary to conduct themselves capably in the professional world. Teacher education was prominent among the professions identified by Hullihen as a direction toward which students should be educated, as it was by Smith College faculty and administrators. Smith's Emeritus International Education Director, Patricia Olmsted, writes:

It was certainly the intention that the institution in those early years of junior year abroad schemes in Europe was to give students the opportunity for a greater proficiency in a foreign language, with the assumption that most would subsequently go on to secondary or private school teaching.³¹²

Within the alternative discourse, foreign language study to prepare for teaching was validated as a prominent and worthwhile reason for programme development.³¹³ Language teaching, however, especially at the elementary and secondary levels, was considered a woman's profession and as such was denigrated as less than professional within the broader academy, as Goodwin and Nacht note when they state that the "collateral purpose" of a Grand Tour-like experience abroad "may be to provide the tools for a genteel occupation such as language teaching"³¹⁴ -- a comment suggesting that teaching language is an activity of leisure.

The alternative discourse that attached professional worth to liberal education abroad and professional identity to foreign language teaching included with it a discourse attaching value to learning a foreign language for its own sake.³¹⁵ Since the academic community regarded the study of foreign languages *per se* with skepticism, this association further fulfilled the expectations of the normalised view of foreign study as a less than serious cultural Grand Tour, pursued by women with no career goals in mind, and contributed to obscuring the discourse of participants about the functional worth of the liberal curriculum abroad.

Professional Purpose: Participant Discourse and Practice

Although traditional beliefs did not validate the motives of students who pursued education overseas, vocational intentions and a concern for career preparation surface persistently in the discourse of participants. For example, professional interests of all types, including future teaching careers, were expressed as motivation among the early Smith College participants. When asked what they would do with their knowledge and appreciation of another language and culture, participants gave voice to their aspirations. "What we are doing with our lives after June, people seem to think will prove something conclusive about the benefits derived from the year of years when we were juniors in France," Olmsted quotes a participant as saying:

Ten of us are to teach French in secondary schools, . . . ten more are going to do graduate work, not all in French; one will work in philosophy, another in Italian, a third enters Oxford, a fourth has won a fellowship to the University of Bonn, still another is to study sculpture at the Ecole de Beaux Arts in Paris, and a sixth is planning to take an M.A. in music at Yale. Four, for the glory of the major, are continuing French either at Columbia, Johns Hopkins, or the University of Chicago. Of the rest, one is entering the training squad at Macy's in the fall, . . . two with secure positions in bookstores and one has a reporting job on a Boston newspaper. The rest are either engaged or have fathers who

consider trips around the world the only aftermath of a college education.³¹⁶

A few of these students were describing their vision of the Grand Tour, but the majority (24 out of 37) from that first year of Smith's programme in France articulated instead future professional and educational plans, stating goals for either graduate study or jobs. From the start of this programme, many participants expressed concrete academic and professional preparation interests, but the few who did not were the ones recognised by the emerging normative perception, and their discourse contributed to the empowerment of the episteme.

Smith students were not alone in conceiving themselves as destined for a professional life. In the Pace study of the first modern programme and its heir, Delaware and Sweet Briar alumni identified improved language skills and improved study methods as values they gained abroad, and both groups named vocational or career results of their experiences. While the Pace study examined the consequences of -- not the motivations for -- programme participation, these results reflect a discourse of career-oriented education abroad. Two-thirds of the Delaware alumni and half the Sweet Briar group studied beyond the bachelor's degree level,

suggesting not only academic but also professional intent.³¹⁷

In the first twenty-five years of the Sweet Briar Junior Year in France programme, R. John Matthew notes that "of those participants who were especially interested in French, many have returned later to become teachers and professors of the language and literature at various levels. Some of them are in our finest institutions of higher learning; and all of them say that they became involved in this work primarily because of the year they spent in France."³¹⁸ Matthew goes on to describe the professional (non-teaching) careers of Sweet Briar participants, reporting that "there is hardly a field of human endeavor which the Junior Year in France participants have not entered. They are actors, actresses, architects, artists, doctors, lawyers, editors, writers, diplomats, social service workers, librarians, foreign correspondents, museum directors, farmers, businessmen, musicians, as well as secretaries and professors."³¹⁹

An examination of the oral histories, letters, and documents available from Delaware participants reveals their articulation of career-oriented motives even in these earliest years of undergraduate study abroad programming:

It made me anxious to go on with study and to seek out that excellent French milieu in America.

I believe I never should have been hired to a teaching position without having had the year in France. In fact, the principal of the school informed me that she never would have dared to take a chance with an inexperienced person unless that person had some very special training and opportunities.

. . . it was largely due to my Junior Year Abroad experience that I secured a teaching position in high school immediately upon my graduation from college . . . In fact, more than the position I now hold were open to me and I had the opportunity to make a choice. This, I think, is very encouraging for those who are contemplating entering the Delfor ranks as a business investment.³²⁰

In Aureta E. Lewis' letter back to the University of Delaware, reflecting her experience among study abroad students in 1937-38, she recalls that "[o]ther French majors with secondary interest in economics intend to take business courses after graduate from college and hope in the future to obtain positions in which they can make use of their French as well as of their business training."³²¹

"I feel that my experience in the University of Delaware foreign study group has been most remunerative -- socially, academically, financially," wrote Mary Leet, who participated in the programme in 1927-28. Amanda

Macy, another teacher, who studied abroad in 1933-34, considered her Delfor experience a "business investment."³²²

Indeed, for these pioneer students, the Junior Year Abroad was, according to Patricia Olmsted, a "positive step toward a career, in academia especially" for women: "while men who studied abroad at that time were more likely to be in the professions of law, medicine, or academe -- such opportunities for women to study in universities abroad were limited as very few universities on the continent were open to women at that time."³²³ Women had limited access to professional studies at home and even less access abroad, but they could ground their professional interests in a liberal education.

This function for overseas education continued with the re-establishment of foreign education after World War II. Although reports in the Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Alumni Newsletter are anecdotal, they reflect the self-reported professional engagement of some of the post-War participants. Alumni notes came from women who were college professors, a manager in a major New York accounting firm, a market researcher, a public interest attorney, an estate and tax lawyer, the founder of a preschool in South Africa, the assistant treasurer at a New York bank, a political consultant, a published

author, a sales assistant at a stock brokerage, an industrial development analyst, a congressional researcher, a computer software marketer, an architect, and a systems engineer. One woman did report that "I devote most of my time to cleaning, cooking, diapers, and pleasing a husband," but her case was distinctly in the minority.³²⁴

The professional interests of many participants are substantiated by the alumni survey of Sweet Briar students. The survey results reveal strongly stated intentions to work professionally. In answer to career interest questions asked in the survey, 90 percent of male participants and 79 percent of female participants said they hoped to pursue graduate or professional work after graduation:

Table 4.14
Sweet Briar Alumni Survey: Question 1

Intentions for Graduate Study, Professional Study, or a Career

Question #1

Before you did your study abroad program, did you hope to pursue graduate or professional study or a career after graduation?

	Yes	No	Maybe		Yes	No	Maybe
Male	35	4	0	Male	90%	10%	0%
Female	131	28	6	Female	79%	17%	4%

Sixty-eight percent of female participants felt that study abroad was significant preparation for their subsequent professional training:

Table 4.15

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey: Question 2
Study Abroad as Preparation for Graduate or Professional Study or a Career

Question #2

Did you feel your study abroad experience could better prepare you for graduate, professional school, or a career?

	Yes	No	Maybe	Other		Yes	No	Maybe	Other
Male	28	3	7	0	Male	74%	8%	18%	0%
Female	110	12	36	4	Female	68%	7%	22%	2%

Since women as well as men entered the study abroad experience with strong professional goals, either a career or graduate study, it is not surprising that their overseas experience did not change their educational and career goals; rather a majority of women but a smaller proportion of men viewed their study abroad experience as directly connected to their later work,³²⁵ as shown in this table:

Table 4.16

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey: Questions 3 and 5
Change in or Direct Connection to Graduate Study, Professional Study,
or Career Goals

Question #3

Did your study abroad experience change your graduate or professional education, or your career goals?

	Yes	No	Maybe		Yes	No	Maybe
Male	14	22	3	Male	36%	56%	8%
Female	37	94	31	Female	23%	58%	19%

Question #5

Was your study abroad experience directly connected to your graduate, professional, or work experiences after you graduated from college?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Male	18	21	Male	46%	54%
Female	84	79	Female	52%	48%

The response to Question 4 of the Sweet Briar alumni survey, when calculated as a percentage of the total number of respondents to the survey, reveals that 90 percent of the men and 71 percent of the women went on to graduate or professional study. Seventy-two percent of the men and fifty-eight percent of the women responded they pursued full-time professional work at some point in their lives. From all possible answers to this question, women also indicated more frequently than men that they worked non-professionally, part-time professionally, and part-time non-professionally.

Viewed from many different perspectives, both motivations and experiences articulated by students abroad reveal their professional and career-oriented

goals. For these students, study overseas was not a Grand Tour, as the traditional belief defined it. Nor did they choose the liberal arts only to broaden their cultural horizons. Students, including females, conceived of study abroad as a way to gain skills and knowledge with direct application to their future careers.

These motivations, manifested in the earliest study abroad programmes and their direct descendants, continue to be reflected in the discourse of participants to the present day. Writing in 1990, the authors of the Carlson study of undergraduate experience abroad stated:

A substantial number of study abroad students noted that career factors were significant to them in electing to study abroad. . . . The perceived significance of the sojourn abroad for later career development is understood by the fact that between 87 and 95 percent of the study abroad students felt that they would be able to utilize the international experience in their later professional life.³²⁶

The International 50 colleges attract students with strongly professed career interests as well. For these liberal arts colleges, study abroad is intrinsic to professional training: "These colleges attract students because of the strength of their international programs. . . . [F]irst-year students . . . entering colleges of

the International 50 are more interested in international programs and careers than their counterparts at research universities or all schools nationally."³²⁷ As noted earlier, students at International 50 colleges are far more likely than those at research universities or other institutions to study abroad.³²⁸ The Koester study also demonstrates this discourse of professional preparation, indicating that at least half of study abroad participants expect their experience to play a role in their professional development.³²⁹

While many students articulate an alternative discourse envisioning career benefits from study abroad, not all do. The discourse and practice of those students who do not express interest in study abroad to develop their careers helps sustain traditional beliefs about the irrelevance of study abroad to professional development. Conversely, even some students not studying abroad consider the experience beneficial to the future careers of participants, as found in the Darden survey, in which 47 percent believed study abroad would improve their chances for graduate admission and for getting a better job.³³⁰ While these students thought study abroad could be beneficial, the discourse reflecting traditional beliefs that was expressed by so many of the students polled for the Darden study, and which has been described

in this thesis,³³¹ has reinforced the traditional beliefs defining study abroad as a practice devoid of professional training relevance.

For Foucault, individuals and institutions are constrained, confined, and defined by the definitions they hold to be truth.³³² Beliefs limiting the range of women's education and professional pursuits in the United States have shaped and influenced the discourse about study abroad. Those women whose experience has taken them outside the norm -- those who have pursued professional development through the liberal curriculum abroad -- have conducted a discourse which has been not been recognised by the episteme. While some features of this discourse can confirm the norm, nonetheless the historical, anecdotal, and statistical evidence clearly reveals an ongoing alternative vision that validates the functional worth of study abroad.

An Emergent Discourse of Professional Training

Women have used liberal education, domestically and internationally, to train themselves to take on a myriad of work responsibilities in the public sphere. Discipline-specific professional training programmes now being developed in study abroad, described earlier in this thesis, offer a new venue for overseas professional

development through overseas study, though not through the liberal curriculum which has so long and effectively served its female constituency. Opportunities to study overseas in the professional disciplines are relatively new. IIE statistics show that as late as 1985, only 20 percent of students abroad registered in discipline-specific professional training programs.³³³ By the mid-1990s this figure had grown to 25 percent.³³⁴ During this time the gender ratio in study abroad enrollment remained steady, as it has from the start.

Study abroad advocates writing policy have hoped to increase male participation in study abroad, linking hopes for this increase to diversifying study abroad options, including offering educational opportunities in the modern professions.³³⁵ "Gender and discipline are still intimately connected," states Barbara Burn. "I think that male students in such fields as law, business, engineering, and in other professional fields are getting the message and are studying abroad in slowly growing numbers."³³⁶

This section will use available evidence to identify how participant discourse and practice defines these new programme offerings, to determine if they display new beliefs as yet undisclosed.

Growth in Professional Programmes

Using statistics from the academic year 1995-96 (the most recent statistical portrait of U.S. higher education compiled by the National Center for Educational Statistics³³⁷) to enable a comparison between domestic and foreign enrollments, the following picture emerges to describe the significance of new professional training study abroad programmes for participants. Business management programmes represent 13.5 percent of study abroad enrollments; the physical sciences, 6.8 percent; health sciences, 2.3 percent; engineering, 2.1 percent; math or computer science, 1.3 percent; and agriculture, 1.0 percent.³³⁸ Programmes identified in education garner 3.7 percent of all enrollments (although education, since it has been pursued through the liberal curriculum of study abroad, is not new to study abroad).

Todd Davis, editor of *Open Doors 1996/97*, observes that "field-of-study patterns have been changing over time, albeit slowly," and the proportion of students majoring in business and technical fields abroad has increased.³³⁹ Many speculate that business programmes have taken the lead among overseas professional programmes because of the "willing awareness that business means *international* business. As interest in international trade expands and the federal government

continues its support of program development, this may be the fastest-growing group of students in study-abroad programs."³⁴⁰ Davis reports that the proportion of students registering in traditional liberal arts programmes has been slowly dropping, matched by a slow rise in technical programme enrollments, though the figures of increase and decline within the liberal and technical disciplines fluctuate annually.³⁴¹ Although professional programme growth has contributed to continuing study abroad enrollment growth rates, there is insufficient data to verify its long-term effect on undergraduate study abroad enrollment development. Some link fluctuations in students' programme choices to overall domestic enrollment trends rather than changing interest in new study abroad programming options.³⁴²

It is difficult to evaluate how men or women conceive of these new programmes and whether they see them as different opportunities from those offered in the past. Statistics collected by IIE do not demonstrate the gender breakdown of those enrolled in professional programmes. The two organisations that collect national study abroad data, IIE and Peterson's, do not have accurate counts of undergraduate students in professionally oriented programmes, nor do they have gender information.³⁴³ Therefore sample programme

statistics and other data can only hint at a profile of which students are choosing these programmes.

One sample for analysis is the work abroad programme sponsored by the Council on International Educational Exchange. Different from study abroad, this programme attracts students for many reasons, including the need to earn money to fund their international experiences as well as a desire to have work experience in an international setting. In conjunction with CIEE, programme operator BUNAC (the British University's North America Club) analysed these enrollments. Comparing participants in 1991, 1992, and 1993, the study found the ratio of male to female participation to be 1 to 1.15 in 1991, the same in 1992, and 1 to 1.5 in 1993.³⁴⁴ In other words, work abroad experiences in Britain -- the location where the majority of U.S. students enroll for this activity³⁴⁵ -- are attracting women in the majority, and in proportions at or near those in traditional study abroad programmes.³⁴⁶

Programmes in science and technology are few³⁴⁷ and gender information on those programmes is scarce. Low numbers may reflect that technical curricula often require strict sequences of courses, making it difficult for students to break that sequence by going overseas and less likely for faculty to recommend that they do so.³⁴⁸

Goodwin and Nacht further note that, amidst the suspicion with which the American scientific community has frequently regarded international education, the presumption has been that science education in particular is best pursued in the United States.³⁴⁹

In one effort counter to such attitudes, Massachusetts' Worcester Polytechnic Institute is presently committed to developing a Global Perspective Program, to prepare professionals for international work in science, engineering, and management. Once established, in one sample year (1991-92), Worcester sent 101 students abroad, by far the majority engineering students (86 of the 101). Hossein Hakim, the Institute's Global Programs Officer, reports that 18 percent of participants were women -- a proportion lower than that of all female students attending Worcester, despite greater interest in international education reported among the school's female population.³⁵⁰

Statistics from Denmark International Studies also offer checkered though inconclusive information on women's participation in programmes identified specifically as professional. In gender-related data compiled over a four-year period in programmes encompassing both liberal and professional disciplines, DIS identified a majority of U.S. women in humanities

programmes and a majority of U.S. men in programmes in international business and architecture (except for Architecture and Design [Summer], which enrolled equal numbers of male and female students).³⁵¹

Since information is inconclusive, it is not possible to identify a clear discourse describing how participants perceive these emerging programmes. But examples suggest that fewer women than men *may* choose professionally oriented study abroad options, at least in some cases, while women certainly choose traditional liberal arts course over professional programmes, according to the data from all sources indicated in this thesis.

Some of these gender patterns may be produced in part by the nature of domestic degree programme enrollments. For example, in the 1995-96 report on bachelor's degrees awarded, 55 percent of all degrees were awarded to women.³⁵² Female undergraduate enrollment has been steadily rising, 20 percent from 1986 to 1996, while male enrollments rose only 8 percent in the same period.³⁵³ The greatest number of degrees awarded were in the fields of business, social sciences, and education, in that order.³⁵⁴

In the humanities and social sciences, women exceeded men in baccalaureate awards in all areas except

philosophy and religion, theological studies, and all social sciences. In science and technology, men exceeded women in all areas with the exception of the biological sciences and the health professions. In business generally, men exceeded women, but gender differences were not great. More women than men were awarded degrees in international business, although that category was small totally, with only slightly more than 3000 degrees awarded, substantially less than 10 percent of all business degrees.³⁵⁵

All of these data are inconclusive. Women do predominate in liberal arts programmes, domestically and internationally. Men predominate in the social sciences domestically, but the data presented in this thesis indicate that far more women than men pursue the social sciences abroad. Women may participate in professional study abroad programmes like engineering or the physical sciences at a rate that exceeds that of women pursuing degrees in those fields,³⁵⁶ though data so far is insufficient. In business, more women than men receive degrees in international business, and women do study business abroad, though there is no readily available explanation why overall so few women in U.S. undergraduate business programmes study overseas.

More significantly, since women continue to pursue

liberal arts studies domestically and overseas with career goals in mind, there is no discourse demonstrating that professional programmes introduce new motivations for pursuing overseas study, nor is there any clear discourse manifesting new beliefs about these emergent programmes. The discourse of motivation for study abroad participation has always included professional development goals.

While the evidence is inconclusive, it does not support the expectation that professionally oriented programmes will significantly increase study abroad enrollments. Professional programmes have grown in enrollment, to be sure, but male-to-female ratios in study abroad remain at 1 to 3. Professional programmes are grounded in fields where women are rarely in the majority, the increase in total enrollments still promises to be small, and no discourse yet suggests that the offer of a professional programme will generate substantial new male participation. It is also possible that as women's access to the professions increases, their need to use the liberal arts as a career pathway will decline, potentially impacting study abroad enrollments. These are questions for further research, as enrollments develop in the professional fields, and in light of evidence of the role played by the liberal arts

in the career development of students, particularly females.

It is possible that the less than enthusiastic participation in professional study abroad programmes exhibited by women (and by men) reflects concern over the devaluing episteme with which so many faculty in professional disciplines view study abroad. Enrollment by both men and women in these programmes remains low. More significantly, the majority of American women continue to pursue a liberal arts education as the path to those professions in which women have strong access. Women also continue to be the majority enrolling in liberal arts programmes abroad.

Assessments of the difference in motivations for study abroad participation between men and women, including those implied by study abroad policy makers hoping to increase male enrollment by increasing professional programming, rests in the eye of the beholder. When women express interest in professional training study abroad programmes, their career intentions are defined as professional, as are those of their male counterparts. On the other hand, when women express their interest in liberal arts study abroad programmes, their career intentions are described by the traditional beliefs and their study is marginalised.

Since many still hold the traditional belief that their liberal arts interest shows women's lack of professional intent, the professional potential of study abroad, and the career-related reasons why women might choose it, has been ignored. Until more men participate, many in the American academic community will continue to regard study abroad as insignificant.³⁵⁷ As men have participated in professional programmes overseas, the discourse has validated their presence by encouraging greater male participation and calling for more professional programmes to accomplish this goal while the academic and professional preparation roles of study abroad in women's lives continue to be ignored. Once again, while some features of the alternative discourse can confirm traditional beliefs, there exists an alternative discourse which clearly expresses the interest of many women to pursue study abroad to prepare for a professional life, as this table summarises:

Table 4.17

Summary

Alternative and Traditional Beliefs in the Discourse of Participants
in Study Abroad Programmes: Professional Purpose

ALTERNATIVE BELIEFS	TRADITIONAL BELIEFS EXHIBITED OR REINFORCED IN ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE
1. MANY WOMEN PURSUE LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATIONS AT HOME AND OVERSEAS TO PREPARE FOR A PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE.	
Women have historically used liberal education as a stepping-stone to a public and professional life in the United States.	
Women in the earliest study abroad programmes articulated teacher training, graduate training, and/or professional aspirations as their goals after college. ³⁵⁸	Some participants in the first post-WWI programmes did match the description of the wealthy woman seeking a cultural experience. ³⁵⁹
In their own testimony, women describe the impact of study abroad on their career aspirations. ³⁶⁰ Research about interests among post- WWII participants, including females, identifies significant professional and career goals. ³⁶¹	Teaching foreign language is one of the most frequently cited motives for studying abroad. Since language teaching is itself not a valued activity, this response reinforces the idea that study abroad is not a serious professional pursuit. ³⁶²

	<p>Statements in the discourse, reported occasionally -- such as 'Pleasing a husband is among the most significant post-study abroad experiences" -- can reinforce, even if not statistically, traditional beliefs about women's education.³⁶³ Reports that about 50% of participants, male and female, do not see a direct connection between foreign study and careers may confirm visions of study abroad as a diversion from, not a path to, career preparation (see Table 4.16).</p>
<p>2. THE PRESENCE OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES HAS HAD NO DEMONSTRABLE IMPACT ON OVERALL GROWTH IN STUDY ABROAD ENROLLMENTS.</p>	<p>Professional programme growth has coincided with some decline in enrollment in humanities programmes abroad, suggesting to some that a professional option represents a new offering that may attract students with motivations different from the past. (These data are countered by a record of growth in the fine arts, which also compensates for these rate declines.)</p>
<p>3. WOMEN EVINCE STRONG INTEREST IN WORK-RELATED PROGRAMMES ABROAD. ³⁶⁴</p>	
<p>4. PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT HAS DEMONSTRATED NO SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE GENDER RATIO OF ENROLLEES (SEE TABLE 4.18).</p>	<p>Professional programmes where men are in the majority (see Table 4.18), though few in number, could reinforce for some observers the belief that professional training has not been part of study abroad for participants in the past, assuming if it had been, it would have attracted greater male participation.</p>

The discourse and practices of the women from the earliest years of study abroad -- though these women may have been regarded as marginal and their studies frivolous within the higher education community -- reflect a conception of study abroad as an academically worthwhile experience, providing a unique avenue for professional preparation.

Programmes have developed in a climate of restricted educational and job access for women. Beliefs held in the American culture about women and their educational goals have devalued females seeking higher education. This discourse about women became associated with study abroad itself, as described in Chapter Three. The prevailing discourse defined women's pursuit of the liberal arts as a path to culture, not career. Even the jobs to which women applied their overseas experiences -- teaching, and in particular teaching foreign languages -- were regarded as less than professional. All the beliefs formed together in the discourse to devalue women's educational and professional choices. The slow growth in enrollments in newly emergent discipline-specific professional study programmes and the ongoing presence of women as the primary users of study abroad sustain the broadly held American episteme that study abroad is academically weak and lacks functional, especially

professional training, purposes. The validation of domestic education continues to exclude the alternative discourses attributing academic and functional worth to overseas education.

Conclusion

A definition of study abroad as an academically and professionally beneficial activity occurs only in the alternative discourses of its sponsors and participants. In Michel Foucault's theory, genealogical inquiry into discourses excluded by an episteme is a call to action, bringing attention to alternative visions of reality.³⁶⁵ Identifying alternative beliefs has been the work of this chapter.

The power of discourse is to constitute reality: "it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth."³⁶⁶ This power "gives gold stars for good behaviour . . . and the tendency is for that which transgresses its dictates to be defined not only as bad but as abnormal. It is a more subtle use of power that works on the transgressor from the inside, and consolidates the ranks of the 'normal' against all others."³⁶⁷

The sponsors of study abroad programmes and the participants in them have been defined in their worth through the power of the prevailing episteme. The

advocates of study abroad are the 'transgressors' in the academy. They are marginalised by the episteme and their discourse is ignored.

Some statements in the discourse and practice of academic sponsors and students conform to the normative discourse of traditional beliefs. These statements have long been heard, but the full spectrum of alternative discourse from sponsors and participants, articulating study abroad as a valuable educational experience, has not been validated within the academic community.

The discourse of sponsors manifests alternative beliefs: namely, that an overseas educational setting provides capable academic students, including the disenfranchised female majority, with a valuable educational opportunity not to be found domestically; that through the liberal curriculum offered in study abroad, these students obtain training, enabling them to function professionally; and that they can be educated as citizens who can also contribute to the nation's development by enhancing their own international understanding and contributing to peace. This is the discourse that has dominated faculty and administrator development of study abroad programmes from the 1920s to recent years.

Participants reflect a similar set of beliefs.

While the discourse of participants does not frequently reflect interest in studying overseas to help contribute to international peace, there is a clear and consistently articulated discourse conceiving of study abroad as academically strong and an important avenue for professional development through the liberal curriculum, especially for female participants.

Women who have been willing to experience risk and discomfort in order to pursue their programmes of study abroad do not themselves manifest belief that it is a Grand Tour. Their academic intent does not reflect a discourse of academic weakness, nor does it reflect a choice to study in the liberal curriculum only to acquire culture.

Universities and their constituencies are among those institutions that, according to Foucault, exert and sustain the power of the norm.³⁶⁸ The episteme constituting study abroad as academically weak and functionally irrelevant is the norm in the American academic community. In Foucault's methodology, archaeological inquiry exposes the foundations of the power exerted by the norm, demonstrating its temporal development and exposing who, what, and why it empowers. In the academy, the episteme marginalising study abroad empowers domestic education. Adapting a genealogical

perspective to this inquiry reveals alternative conceptions. The women whose presence helped to generate and helps today to sustain traditional beliefs, and the faculty and administrators who sponsor those students, have constituted for themselves an alternative episteme, describing the significant academic and professional experience to be found through study abroad. For Foucault, the purpose of an inquiry is transformation.³⁶⁹ Chapter Five will apply the findings of this inquiry to an evaluation of policy discourse.

Endnotes, Chapter Four

1. See Chapter Two, where Foucault's explanation of 'genealogy' is cited, as in: "Let us give the term 'genealogy' to the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today" (Michel Foucault, "Genealogy and Social Criticism," in Steven Seidman, ed., *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995]; and "Introduction" in D. C. Hoy, *Foucault: A Critical Reader* [New York: Basil Blackwell], 6-7). See also Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Donald F. Bouchard, ed. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 146-152. In this chapter of the thesis, the concept of 'genealogy' is adapted to explore the beliefs manifest in the alternative discourses of study abroad participants and programme sponsors.
2. "The Discourse on Language," appendix to Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 215-237; Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 119.
3. Foucault, "Genealogy and Social Criticism"; Hoy, "Introduction," 6-7.
4. See Chapter One.
5. See Chapter Three of this thesis for a description of the representative features of the University of Delaware/Sweet Briar programme.
6. John E. Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad: The Development of Study Abroad Programs by American Colleges and Universities* (CIEE Occasional Papers, series no. 24 [1987]), 14.
7. R. W. Kirkbride, letter to Dr. Walter Hulliher, President, University of Delaware, 2 March 1923, Paris, France (provided by Andrew T. Hill, International Programs and Special Sessions Office, University of Delaware).
8. Francis M. Rogers, *American Juniors on the Left Bank* (Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1958), 10.
9. Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 13-14.
10. John M. Clayton, Jr., *Foreign Study Plan Records, 1922-1948: An Inventory* (University of Delaware Archives, 16 March 1970), n.p.
11. John A. Munroe, interview, 7 February 1994.
12. Clayton, *Foreign Study Plan Records*, n.p. There is no indication in the records that in the first year, when the Delaware programme enrolled only men, women applied and were turned away from the programme.

-
13. John A. Munroe, *The University of Delaware: A History* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1986), 266.
 14. Ibid.
 15. Delfor Alumni Association, Committee on Foreign Study Survey (University of Delaware Archives, 26 January 1933), n.p.
 16. Clayton, *Foreign Study Plan Records*, n.p.
 17. Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 14.
 18. Margaret Farrand Thorp, *Neilson of Smith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 129-149.
 19. Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 193-199.
 20. Ibid., 1-59.
 21. Ibid., 196.
 22. Ibid., 197-199.
 23. Helene Cattànès, *Vers d'autres horizons, Memento de l'année en France* (New York/Paris: Association of Former Juniors in France of Smith College, 1965), 10.
 24. See Chapters One and Three for a definition of the 'Junior Year Abroad' and the Sorbonne model upon which it was based.
 25. Cattànès, *Vers d'autres horizons*, 8-9.
 26. Jean Collignon, "Le programme des études en France," in Cattànès, *Vers d'autres horizons*, 20.
 27. Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 197.
 28. Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 193-199.
 29. Emile Langlois, interview, Sweet Briar, Virginia, 25 April 1994; Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 15.
 30. Martha Lou Lemmon Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College* (Sweet Briar, Va.: Alumnae Association of Sweet Briar College, 1956), 171-178, 182-183, 205.
 31. R. John Matthew, *25 Years on the Left Bank* (Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1973), foreword (n.p.).
 32. Matthew, *25 Years*, foreword.
 33. R. Robert Pace, *The Junior Year in France: An Evaluation of the University of Delaware-Sweet Briar College Program* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1959), 3.
 34. Pace, *The Junior Year in France*, 3-4.

-
35. Marion Macri and Patricia O'Callaghan, "A Review of the Marymount Schools in Paris, Rome and Elsewhere," in *Oriflamme*, Jubilee Number (Tarrytown, N.Y.: Marymount College, 1932).
36. Sister Rita Arthur, interview, New York, N.Y., 6 August 1997; Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 15.
37. Arthur, interview.
38. Rosary College Bulletin, 1947 (University of Delaware Archives: Rosary College General, Folder 4181AR64 33/0/3, General Correspondence, Box H20), 12.
39. Rosary College Bulletin, 12.
40. See, for example, "American Assistants in French Lycees" *School and Society* 18 (25 October 1923), 497-498; "Student Exchanges & Peace," *School and Society* 18 (25 August 1923), 233-234.; "Vacation Courses for Foreigners in French Universities," *School and Society* 20 (August 1924), 247-248; "Educational: American Students at Oxford University," *School and Society* 21 (10 June 1925), 40-41; "Delaware Foreign Study Plan on Intercollegiate Basis," *School and Society* 24 (3 July 1926), 14; "International Study," *School and Society* 20 (24 April 1926), 46-47; "American German Student Exchange Fellowships," *School and Society* 21 (10 June 1925), 40-41; "Foreign Study Scholarships of University of Delaware," *School and Society* 27 (9 June 1928), 686-687; "Institute of International Education & Student Exchange," *School and Society* 28 (14 July 1928), 38-39; "The Success of American Graduate Students in the University of London," *School and Society* 29 (26 January 1929), 121-123; "The Franco-American Student Exchange," *School and Society* 64 (9 November 1946), 327; and "Junior Year in Zurich," *School and Society* 66 (12 July 1947), 27-28. When the authors of these articles discussed purpose, they most often identified educating people competent to contribute to international peace.
41. See Chapter Three for a full description of the International 50; see Appendix A, Table 3.19 for a list of schools belonging to the International 50.
42. David C. Engerman and Parker G. Marden, *In the International Interest: The Contributions and Needs of America's International Liberal Arts Colleges* (Beloit, Wisconsin: The International Liberal Arts Colleges, 1992), 35.
43. *Ibid.*, 36-37.
44. Council on International Educational Exchange, *Catalog, Cooperative Centers for Study Abroad, 1992-1993* (New York: CIEE, 1992); *Catalog, Cooperative Center for Study Abroad, 1993-1994* (New York: CIEE, 1993). See Appendix A, Table 4.2, CIEE Examination of Programme Requirements.
45. David Larsen, interview at NAFSA conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1 June 1995.
46. Beatrice Beach Szekely and Maria Krane, "The Current Demographics of Education Abroad," in William Hoffa, John Pearson, and Marvin

Slind, *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators*, 2nd ed. (Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1997), 162.

47. Elinor G. Barber and Barbara B. Burn, eds., "Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates in Western Europe and in the United States" (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1990); cited in Stephen Cooper, and Mary Anne Grant, "The Demographics of Education Abroad," in William Hoffa, ed., *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators* (National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1993), 96.

48. James Pritchett, e-mail correspondence, 3 October 1997.

49. Craufurd D. Goodwin, "Introduction," in Maranthi Zikopoulos, ed., *U.S. Students Abroad, Statistics on Study Abroad, 1985-86* (IIE Research Report Number 16 (New York: Institute of International Education, 1988)), 5.

50. Many of the institutions most committed to study abroad, demonstrated by participant numbers, require grade point averages higher than the average for admission to their programmes. Data confirming this statement were gathered by projecting programme admission grade point averages (drawn from Sara J. Steen, ed., *Academic Year Abroad 1997-98* [New York: Institute of International Education, 1996]) onto a list of U.S. colleges and universities, ranked as to the number of study abroad participants as reported to Peterson's (William Velivis, correspondence, 14 December 1994). A frequent requirement of high academic standards for admission is thus demonstrated.

51. Ibid.

52. Foucault, "The Discourse on Language," 215-237; Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Foucault*, 119; Ralph Cohen, interview, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1 September 1999.

53. John A. Wallace, "Characteristics of Programs for Study Abroad," *Journal of General Education* 13:4 (January 1962), 253.

54. Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 257.

55. Ibid., 257.

56. Sweet Briar College, *Sweet Briar College Junior Year in France* [catalog], 1993-94, 7.

57. Harrison G. Gough and William A. McCormack, "An Exploratory Evaluation of Education Abroad," Cooperative Research Project No.S-440 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1967), 16.

58. Ibid., 26.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 28.

-
61. Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, Executive Summary Insert, ii.
62. James Pritchett, e-mail correspondence, 12 May 1997.
63. Ibid.
64. *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task*, Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad (Washington: NAFSA: Association for International Educators, May 1990), 4.
65. Undertaken annually by *U.S. News and World Report*; for this study, the 1997 list was used. These records were constructed by this researcher for Denmark's International Study Programme and reside in their archives.
66. Defined through (1) membership in the Council on International Educational Exchange or its academic consortium, (2) the presence of an on-campus study abroad fair, or (3) the establishment of a study abroad office on campus (Council on International Educational Exchange, *CUD Market Report* [unpublished internal working document], 1995).
67. This analysis was derived from institutional database fields provided by Peterson's (1997) and evaluated utilizing the national university ranking categories established in the annual *U.S. News and World Report* evaluation of colleges and universities; for this study, the 1997 edition was used, as noted above. Of the 1,719 four-year colleges and universities included in the database, 1,479 are ranked or identified as unique though unranked. A total of 240, therefore, are not rated strongly in any category. Of those, only 67 schools (27.9% of the 240, but only four percent of all institutions) are identified as study abroad users. Of the 1,479 schools ranked as the best national universities or liberal arts colleges, best regional universities or liberal arts colleges, good colleges, or unique but unranked, 932 (63%) are study abroad users.
68. Barron's, *Profiles of American Colleges*, 22nd ed. (Hauppauge, N.Y.: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1997).
69. Study abroad programmes use current academic performance, not college admissions data, to evaluate admission applications into programmes. Data describing SAT scores for study abroad participants are not collected and can only be inferred through institutional analysis, such as constructed for this thesis.
70. Kirkbride, letter.
71. Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 196.
72. Rogers, *American Juniors*, 10.
73. Langlois, interview, 1994.
74. Stohlman, *Story of Sweet Briar*, 171-205.

-
75. Pace, *The Junior Year in France*, 3.
76. Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 35.
77. Clayton, *Foreign Study Plan Records*, n.p.
78. Rosary College Bulletin, 12.
79. Cattànès, *Vers d'autres horizons*, 8-9.
80. Thorp, Neilson of Smith, 193-199; Cattànès, *Vers d'autres horizons*, 8-19.
81. Ernest L. Boyer and Fred M. Hechinger, *Higher Learning in the Nation's Service* (Washington: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1981), vii-viii.
82. John S. Brubacher, *On The Philosophy of Higher Education*, revised ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1982), 4. Altbach, Berdahl, and Gumpert use the term 'commonwealth legacy' to describe "the close, supportive relations between American society and higher education," deriving from the colonial enthusiasm for education and institutional willingness to support colonial development (Philip G. Altbach, Robert O. Berdahl, and Patricia J. Gumpert, *Higher Education in American Society*, 3rd ed. [Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1994], 22-23).
83. Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, vii.
84. Ibid., 9; emphasis added. Karabell argues that education has traditionally been seen as providing the credentials to secure a good professional position, as well as identifying the degree holder as a cultured individual capable of functioning with his peers in the professional world. Today the former motive dominates completely and is driven by a desire for financial success. See Zachary Karabell, *What's College For? The Struggle to Define American Higher Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1998), vii-viii.
85. Brubacher, *On The Philosophy of Higher Education*, 4-6.
86. Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 3-5.
87. Brubacher, *On The Philosophy of Higher Education*, 5.
88. Ibid., 5-7; Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 9-18.
89. Lincoln Steffens, "Sending a State to College," *American Magazine*, February 1909, reprinted in James C. Stone and Donald P. DeNevi, eds., *Portraits of the American University 1890-1910* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971), 133. Cited in Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 13.
90. Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 12.
91. Brubacher, *On The Philosophy of Higher Education*, 1-8.

-
92. Boyer and Hechinger, *Higher Learning*, 11. Also see Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University, A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 65.
93. Brubacher, *On The Philosophy of Higher Education*, 7. In this thesis, the functional worth attributed to higher education in the United States is understood to be an education which is grounded in practicality, designed to train students to work professionally, and, as competent good citizens, contribute to the nation's development.
94. The inherent value of culture education is not manifest in the discourse of the academic sponsors of study abroad. Instead the humanities were defined, as this chapter will demonstrate, as a valuable academic training ground for global competence.
95. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities*, 4th ed., with new chapters by Willis Rudy (New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 427.
96. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, 3rd ed. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 61.
97. James B. Conant, "American Remakes the University," in Brubacher and Rudy, eds., *Higher Education in Transition* (reprinted from *Atlantic Monthly* May 1946), 42.
98. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education*, 426, quoting Merle E. Curti, "Intellectuals and Other People," *American Historical Review* 60 (Jan. 1955).
99. Conant, "America Remakes," 42-43, quoted in Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education*, 427.
100. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education*, 427.
101. Ibid. "American universities have demonstrated a much greater readiness to admit new and different fields of study as integral members of the academic family. Schools of journalism, education, engineering, pharmacy, nursing, business, public health, agriculture, library service, and public administration came in the United States to be accepted as proper and accredited parts of the academic structure."
102. This definition, which articulates the importance of professional education within the American academy, suggests an explanation for the focus of American educators not on the inherent value of cultural education but on its utility for professional development.
103. Clayton, *Foreign Study Plan Records*.
104. Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 263.
105. John A. Munroe, interview, 7 February 1994. Details about how study abroad could contribute to international understanding were not developed in the Delaware literature. Peace and international understanding goals continue to be expressed by the end of the

century in references to training students for 'global competency' or to function effectively in the 'global society' (Council on International Educational Exchange, *Annual Report 94-95* [New York: CIEE, 1995]). Such goals have sometimes been linked to professional training in planning statements which intertwine goals to train professionally proficient citizens with loosely stated goals to increase international understanding, as the Delaware example illustrates. In other instances they are connected by the expression of interest in them by individuals who pursued professional lives to fulfill these goals. See, for example, President Martha Lucas, Sweet Briar College, in Emile Langlois, unpublished manuscript for panel presentation at NAFSA conference, Region VII and IX (16 November 1990), 2-3. Links between the goals of international peace and professional training are sometimes implied, but the literature infrequently expands on the concepts of understanding, peace, or cooperation to identify specifically how study abroad is conceived to contribute to these goals. Since these are persistently stated purposes for supporting study abroad, as this chapter will show, how these goals are understood to be best met is a valuable area for future research.

106. Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 263-264.

107. Walter H. Hullihen, "The Delaware Undergraduate Foreign Study Plan, or Junior Year Abroad," dated 1931 (University of Delaware Archives 33/0/5, Box 23 [AR67], folder 537), 4; also see Appendix C, Sketch of Foreign Study Plan, from Hullihen's Papers.

108. *Ibid.*, 265.

109. Clayton, *Foreign Study Plan Records*, opening commentary; also see Appendix C, Sketch of Foreign Study Plan.

110. Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 267.

111. Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 14.

112. Munroe, *University of Delaware*.

113. Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 126-127.

114. *Ibid.*, 128.

115. Rosary College Bulletin (1947).

116. Rogers, *American Juniors*, 27.

117. Patricia Olmsted, "Sixty Years of Study Abroad: A Backward Glance at the Profession" (paper prepared for NAFSA Conference, Long Beach, Calif., May 1987), 3-4.

118. *Ibid.*, 5.

119. *Ibid.*, 6.

120. *Ibid.*, 7, 9; Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 196-197.

-
121. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 7.
122. "Special Correspondence: The New Oxford Summer Vacation Course," *School and Society* 14, no. 619 (6 November 1926), 580.
123. Virginia C. Gildersleeve, *Many a Good Crusade: Memoirs of Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1954), 129-134.
124. *Ibid.*, 129.
125. *Ibid.*, 143.
126. Solomon, *In the Company*, 115-116, 157.
127. Gildersleeve, *Many a Good Crusade*, 140-141. The uses of Reid Hall prior to World War I reflected discursive strands articulating female interest in the arts abroad.
128. *Ibid.*, 405.
129. J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1990), viii-ix.
130. Stohlman, *Story of Sweet Briar*, 182-183.
131. *Ibid.*, 171-178.
132. Rogers, *American Juniors*, 12.
133. Emile Langlois, unpublished manuscript for panel presentation at NAFSA conference, Region VII and IX (16 November 1990), 2.
134. *Ibid.*, 2-3.
135. Both Lucas and her husband, Maurice Pate, former Director of UNESCO, pursued interest in international understanding and peace as a professional commitment (*ibid.*).
136. Stohlman, *Story of Sweet Briar*, 198-205.
137. Langlois, interview (1994). Like other colleges in the Southern U.S. at the time, Sweet Briar was not racially integrated, but it also agreed to continue to admit black students for study abroad. Ironically, therefore, from 1948 into the 1960s, when a lawsuit forced the issue, Sweet Briar's study abroad programme was integrated but its home campus was not.
138. Langlois, unpublished manuscript, 2.
139. *Ibid.*
140. Sweet Briar College, *Bulletin for Junior Year in France* (February 1948).
141. Langlois, unpublished manuscript, 6.

142. See above; Larsen, interview.

143. John A. Wallace, *The Organization and Outcomes of a European Field Trip in Economics for 23 College Women* (Ed.D. dissertation. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania, February 1949).

144. Ibid., 4.

145. From the 1948 *Bulletin of Beaver College*, page 7; cited in Wallace, "Characteristics of Programs," 5. The Beaver statement is among the relatively few examples of discourse that articulate the value of cultural education as professional preparation.

146. Wallace, "Characteristics of Programs," 6-11.

147. Ibid., 11.

148. 1948 *Bulletin*, 6-7; cited in *ibid.*, 3-4.

149. Ibid., 1-11.

150. Barbara Burn, *Expanding the International Dimensions of Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), 1.

151. John A. Wallace, "Characteristics of Programs for Study Abroad," *Journal of General Education* 13:4 (January 1962), 254.

152. Paul Weaver, "Study Abroad and General Education," *Journal of General Education* 13:4 (January 1962), 250.

153. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 216.

154. Jack Egle, *Annual Report, Council on International Educational Exchange* (New York: CIEE, 1990).

155. Cindy Sittler (representing the Council on International Educational Exchange), interview, August 1993.

156. Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad, Council Study Centers, 1997-1998* (New York: CIEE, 1997), 3-4.

157. Member institutions support Council's direction, maintaining voice and input into the direction of its policies, programme development, and programme delivery, programmes which may then be utilised by every academically eligible college and university student in the United States (Council on International Educational Exchange, unpublished membership information, provided by Angela Hirsch, executive assistant to the president, July 1993). Eligibility is determined by evaluating the academic ranking of the student's home institution and the student's academic performance at that institution, typically measured by grade point averages and faculty evaluations (Sittler, interview).

158. Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad, Council Study Centers, 1997-1998* (New York: CIEE, 1997); Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad Baseline Survey* (New York: CIEE, 1996), 3-4; Council on International Educational

Exchange, unpublished minutes, Academic Consortium Board Meetings. 24-25 April 1996, Paris, France; Council on International Educational Exchange, Plan for ACB Program Review, Committee on Program Evaluation, Academic Consortium Board (Monterey, California, November 1996). The Academic Consortium Board, expressing commitment to maintaining strong academic programmes, implemented recommendations that included:

- 1) asking study abroad advisers to demonstrate a student's appropriateness for a given programmes,
- 2) providing study abroad advisers with guidelines on how to handle applicants who do not meet a given programme's admission criteria,
- 3) recommending Council remain firm regarding application screening guidelines, and
- 4) recommending organised outcome measures to evaluate academic accomplishments, including foreign language learning, during participation in Council programmes.

The Academic Consortium Board also chose to sponsor site reviews, to provide ongoing evaluation of the academic strength of programmes. It was decided that each programme would be measured against a mission statement, that all programmes would be monitored annually for quality and visited periodically, and that staff self-evaluation would be an ongoing process. Reports would be generated, considering such items as programme quality, including teaching and assessment; relevant academic activities; the quality and ability of student participants; and the quality of programme development plans for improving teaching and services.

159. Council on International Educational Exchange, membership packet for academic year 1995-1996 (New York: CIEE, 1995), n.p.

160. Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 17.

161. Ibid., 21.

162. These terms can be seen reflected in study abroad literature, including, for example, *Educating for Global Competence* (1988); Sven Groennings, *The Impact of Economic Globalization on Higher Education* (1987); and Kauffmann, Martin, Weaver, and Weaver, *Students Abroad, Strangers at Home -- Education for a Global Society* (1992).

163. *Educating for Global Competence*, 1.

164. Solomon, *In the Company*, 12.

165. Clayton, Foreign Study Plan Records; Hullihen, "Delaware Undergraduate Foreign Study Plan," 4; Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 26; Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 14.

166. Wallace, *Organization and Outcomes*, 3-4.

167. Sittler, interview (1993); *Educating for Global Competence*, 1; Council on International Educational Exchange, *Council Viewbook* (New York: CIEE, 1995).

168. Rogers, *American Juniors*, 27; Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 3-7; Rosary College Bulletin (1947).

-
169. Gildersleeve, *Many a Good Crusade*, 143; Stohlman, *Story of Sweet Briar*, 171-183.
170. Wallace, *Organization and Outcomes*, 1-11.
171. Egle, *Annual Report, CIEE*.
172. Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 17.
173. Craufurd D. Goodwin and Michael Nacht, *Missing the Boat: The Failure to Internationalize American Higher Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 10.
174. Stowe, William W. *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 161-162; see also Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Modern Library, 1934).
175. Mary Morris and Larry O'Connor, eds., *Maiden Voyages: Writings of Women Travelers* (New York: Vintage Departures Original, 1993), xv-xxii.
176. John A. Garraty and Walter Adams, *From Main Street to the Left Bank: Students and Scholars Abroad* (East Lansing, Mich.: The Michigan State University Press, 1959), 8.
177. *Educating for Global Competence*, 8.
178. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 12.
179. Ibid., 8.
180. Ibid., 8-9.
181. Ibid., 9.
182. Ibid.
183. Ibid., 10.
184. Clayton, *Foreign Study Plan Records*, 4.
185. Munroe, *University of Delaware*.
186. Madeleine Forwood, interviewed by Myron L. Lazarus for the University of Delaware Oral History Project, 8 July 1970 (transcript page 14-15, University of Delaware Paris Program Class of 1931, Ar 97, 33/0/8, University of Delaware Archives).
187. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 12.
188. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 12.
189. Council on International Educational Exchange, *Oral History Video Tape*, 16 November 1994 (part of the CIEE Oral History Series).

-
190. Langlois, Emile, unpublished manuscript for panel presentation at NAFSA conference, Region VII and IX (16 November 1990).
191. Ibid.
192. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 15.
193. Female enrollment did drop substantially in the calendar year 1989, well after the terrorist incident, but male enrollment dropped then, too, a change attributed to that year's economic recession, according to Gerry Thompson, CIEE Vice President (Gerry Thompson, interview, 15 August 1991), another indication that socioeconomic factors do play a part in determining who studies abroad.
194. Jerry Johnson, interview, 22 February 1994.
195. Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 197.
196. Educational Reconstruction Conference (1949), cited in Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 15.
197. Langlois, unpublished manuscript.
198. Ibid.
199. Ibid.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid.
202. Ibid.
203. *A National Mandate*, 4; *Educating for Global Competence*, 5.
204. National Security Education Program, *Summary Report, Undergraduate Scholarships, 1994-1995 Competition Cycle* (New York: Institute for International Education, 1994).
205. See Chapter One.
206. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 136. Since these are IIE compilations, graduate students have been included in the count, so the actual percentage of undergraduates in non-conventional areas is lower.
207. Paul Desruisseaux, "15% Rise in American Students Abroad Shows Popularity of Non-European Destinations," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 December 1999: A60.
208. The Council on International Educational Exchange conducted a survey of U.S. higher education institutions sponsoring programmes in the Third World. The data, collected from the summer of 1987 to the spring of 1993, revealed 277 Third World study programmes reported by the 57 responding institutions enrolling a total student population of 14,348 (Council on International Educational Exchange, *Report on Third World Study Abroad Programs [1993]*, 1-4).

209. This programme was established by the National Security Education Act of 1991, which also created the National Security Education Board and a trust fund in the U.S. Treasury to provide resources for scholarships, fellowships, and grants. NSEP considers its responsibility to undergraduate students to be "to provide American undergraduates with the resources and encouragement they need to acquire skills and experience and less commonly studied languages and cultures" (National Security Education Act, *Summary Report*, unnumbered introductory page). Among the NSEP goals is support of diversified student participation in study abroad as well.

210. National Security Education Program, *Summary Report*.

211. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 183-184.

212. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 7-9.

213. Clayton, Foreign Study Plan Records, 4: Munroe, *University of Delaware*; Forwood, interview.

214. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 12.

215. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 12.

216. Council on International Educational Exchange, Oral History Video Tape; Langlois, unpublished manuscript.

217. Olmsted, "Sixty Years"; Langlois, unpublished manuscript.

218. Olmsted, "Sixty Years."

219. Educational Reconstruction Conference (1949), cited in Bowman, *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad*, 15; Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 197; Langlois, unpublished manuscript, 4.

220. Council on International Educational Exchange, Report on Third World Study Abroad Programs, 1-4; National Security Education Program, *Summary Report*.

221. Ruth M. Sylte, e-mail correspondence, 5 April 1996.

222. Sylte, e-mail correspondence.

223. Thorp, *Neilson of Smith*, 193-199.

224. Delfor Alumni Directories, 1933-35 (Box 53, AR 97, University of Delaware Archives).

225. Edwin C. Byam, letter to alumni, 26 January 1933 (Alumni Questionnaire, AR 97, Folder 1639, Delfor, University of Delaware Archives).

226. Delfor Alumni Association, Committee on Foreign Study Survey, 26 January 1933 (University of Delaware Archives).

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid.

229. Ibid.

230. "Delforean," Listing of Former Alumni, 1923-36 (unnumbered insert, *Record Book*. Box 52, AR 96, Folder 1645, University of Delaware Archives).

231. Mrs. Beatrice F. Davis, interview for the University of Delaware Oral History Project by Myron L. Lazarus, 15 July 1970 (transcript page 29, University of Delaware Paris Program Class of 1931, AR 97, 33/1/1, University of Delaware Archives).

232. Rogers, *American Juniors*, 16.

233. Rogers 1958, 21.

234. Irwin T. Sanders and Jennifer C. Ward, *Bridges to Understanding: International Programs of American Colleges and Universities* (third of a series, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970]).

235. Sanders and Ward, *Bridges*, 92.

236. Jolene Koester, *A Profile of U.S. Students Abroad -- 1984 and 1985* (New York: Council on International Educational Exchange, 1987).

237. Ibid. When students who chose U.S.-sponsored programmes abroad were asked, "What are your personal goals in taking this trip?," 38 percent answered knowledge of country, 29 percent improving language ability, and 18 percent improving academic performance. In 1985, the option most frequently selected (by 38 percent of respondents) was improving education. Twenty-two percent cited that their personal goal in taking the trip was to improve foreign language ability, 21 percent to improve their knowledge of the country (ibid., 24, 29). Fewer than nine percent of students each year associated their goals with social travel, personal development, or pleasure. Sixty-nine percent of respondees were women (ibid., 29).

Of the students enrolling directly in foreign universities, 56 percent were female. In 1984, 34 percent of this group said they had pursued study abroad to improve foreign language ability; 31 percent, to improve their knowledge of the host country. In 1985, within this same group, 42 percent indicated that they chose study abroad to "improve my education," 24 percent to "improve foreign language ability" (ibid., 30-31).

Among those who created their own independent study abroad experiences, 60 percent were female. Of these students, in 1984, 34 percent were motivated to improve their knowledge of the country; 28 percent, to improve their foreign language ability; and 21 percent, to improve their academic performance. In 1985, 45 percent said they chose foreign study to improve their education; 19 percent, to improve foreign language ability (ibid., 38, 43). Even among students studying independently for credit, few associated study abroad with pleasurable travel, leisure travel, or interpersonal development.

Of all the modes, the one most often associated with leisure is the study tour. Participants visit multiple sites, so study-tour opportunities emphasise travel. Koester's study found that answers

from this group of students differed markedly from others. Their primary goal was to improve knowledge of the country (57 percent in 1984, 45 percent in 1985). In 1985, furthermore, 29 percent of this group considered "improving education" an important goal (ibid., 67, 72).

238. Ibid., 24-72.

239. Ibid., 24-72.

240. Ibid., 24-72.

241. H. Fairfax Ayres III, Andrea Brennan, Michael Clancy, Timothy Cronin, John Druitt, Julie Gibbons, Lois Lynch, Kevin Marks, Debra Stinchfield, Kathryn Young; James Rubin, faculty advisor; Christopher Gale, project supervisor, "CIEE Market Study: Motivations for Study Abroad" (Charlottesville, Va.: Darden School of Graduate Business Studies, University of Virginia, May 1996).

242. Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," 19.

243. Koester, *Profile*, 114; emphasis in the original.

244. Delfor Alumni Association, Committee on Foreign Study Survey; Rogers, *American Juniors*, 16, 21.

245. Ibid., 16; Sanders and Ward, *Bridges*.

246. Delfor Alumni Association, Committee on Foreign Study Survey.

247. Koester, *Profile*.

248. Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study."

249. Koester, *Profile*, 114; also see Table 4.11.

250. Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," 19.

251. Mary Louise Tylor, "Study Abroad," in Asa S. Knowles, editor-in-chief, *International Encyclopedia of Higher Education*, vol. 4 (D-F) (San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers, 1977), 1518; cited in Asa Briggs and Barbara Burn, *Study Abroad: A European and an American Perspective, Organization and Impact of Study Abroad* (No. 1, European Institute of Education and Social Policy [Paris, 1985]). See also Hoffa, *NAFSA's Guide*.

252. Roger P. Mourad, Jr., *Postmodern Philosophical Critique and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Higher Education*, Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series, ed. Henry A. Giroux (Westport, Conn., and London: Bergin and Garvey, 1997), 60-61.

253. Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., and Wayne J. Urban, *American Education: A History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996), 30.

254. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 6-7.

255. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), 536.

256. Harvard, then others, were to create for the new nation "an educated clergy," "leaders disciplined by knowledge and learning," and "followers disciplined by leaders [and] order" (Rudolph, *American College and University*, 7). Education had a social purpose: by creating leaders and an educated citizenry, it could ensure and preservation of the republic (Wagoner and Urban, *American Education*, 86).

257. Ibid., 87.

258. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 73-74.

259. As Chapter Three described, women were the "Mothers of the Republic"; they "nurtured" the future male leadership and electorate. "American women became culture-bearers. Through them, sons imbibed the milk of citizenship and virtue" (Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 10).

260. Ibid.; Rudolph, *American College and University*, 6-7; Lawrence A. Cremin, "College," excerpted from his book, *American Education: The Colonial Experience* (1970), and reprinted in Lester F. Goodchild and Harold Wechsler, eds., *ASHE Reader on the History of Higher Education* (Needham Heights, Mass.: Ginn Press/Simon & Schuster, 1989), 29.

261. Solomon, *In the Company*, 83.

262. Ibid., 66. Words of encouragement to seek education came from other women. Often mothers who had had "a difficult life or thwarted ambitions" (ibid., 68) or who had been forced to support themselves economically encouraged their daughters to attend college. Sisters encouraged their younger sisters as well. Virginia Gildersleeve, the Dean at Barnard College described earlier in this chapter as instrumental in supporting Reid Hall as an international education study centre in Paris, was encouraged into education by her widowed mother (ibid., 68).

By the end of the nineteenth century, farmers' daughters "viewed education as a way out of the constrictions, isolation, and poverty of rural life," writes Solomon. "It was not always easy for farm families to part with these daughters any more than it was with sons, but farming students came to college in steady proportions during the period" (ibid., 68). Between 1838 and 1850, 82.5 percent of female graduates taught school, typically delaying marriage for up to five years. Twenty-six percent taught for ten years or more, and 19 percent never married (Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 27). Indeed, Wellesley was founded for the 'calico girls,' the "hardworking daughters of modest means" (Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 37).

263. Women would often pay for college by teaching school. The experience of paying one's way through college became increasing typical, though certainly the largest number of students attending colleges still came from the wealthier strata. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, while men at the Ivy Leagues were often upper-class, "the women seeking higher education came from more modest backgrounds, and they brought a more serious approach to college" (Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 97).

264. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 341: As long as males had pursued education, their aims had included career and professional training. Indeed, as described earlier in the thesis, liberal education had been the foundation of training for "the three learned professions," divinity, law, and medicine, with the military, perhaps, considered a fourth. (ibid., 338-339).

265. Ibid., 87.

266. Ibid., 125-140, 157-171; Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (Washington: Zenger Publishing Co, 1959), 73, 74, 176-179.

267. Ibid., 134.

268. Solomon, *In the Company*, 130-131.

269. Ibid., 131. Female entrants into medical schools actually declined in numbers as education in medicine improved (ibid., 132).

270. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 112-113.

271. Margaret W. Rossiter, "Doctorates for American Women, 1868-1907," *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer 1982, 161.

272. Solomon, *In the Company*, 134-135.

273. Ibid., 136.

274. Ibid., 138; see 132-140.

275. Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 178.

276. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 340-341.

277. Ibid., 342; Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education*, 121-136, 198-210, 465-466, 447-449.

278. Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 79. The only exception to the ten percent measure of maximum female participation in any of the disciplinary programmes was Pharmacy, where by 1956 10.7 percent of degree recipients were women.

279. Patricia A. Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3; no. 4 (Summer 1978); reprinted in Goodchild and Wechsler, *ASHE Reader*, 759-773. Roman Catholic men's colleges and Ivy League institutions led the way as American higher education grew more "resistant to the admission of women, as undergraduates, graduate students, or faculty" (Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion," 419).

280. Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion," 417.

281. Solomon, *In the Company*, 172.

282. Ibid., 173.

-
283. Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion," 417.
284. Ibid., 417, citing statistics from Rudolph C. Blitz, "Women in the Professions, 1870-1970," *Monthly Labor Review*, no. 5 (May 1974), 37.
285. Solomon, *In the Company*, 127.
286. Ibid., 126.
287. Ibid.
288. Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 88-89.
289. Solomon, *In the Company*, 127.
290. Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 176.
291. Solomon, *In the Company*, 127-128.
292. Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion," 415.
293. Solomon, *In the Company*, 128-129.
294. Ibid., 187.
295. Ibid., 191.
296. Ibid., 190-201.
297. Ibid., 191.
298. Ibid., 195.
299. Ibid., 196; Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 176-178.
300. Ibid., 179-180. Women found writing an important career option as well (ibid., 196).
301. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstracts*, Table 617 (1996), 395.
302. Solomon, *In the Company*, 208.
303. Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 178.
304. For many women, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, volunteerism was an avenue to meaningful work in spite of the perception of women as marital spouses, adjuncts, and servants to society. "Women operated at the threshold between the private and public sectors, transforming formal, individual political powerlessness into informal and collective power via voluntary associations," according to sociologist Daphne Spain ("How Women Saved the City" [unpublished manuscript, 1998], 9). Even Caroline Hazard, the turn-of-the-century President of Wellesley College, rose to her position of prominence through volunteerism (Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 209).

This avenue of engagement in public life, where professional skills were exercised, persisted in women's lives during the war period. "For a variety of reasons, the more education a woman had the more she determined to use it in gainful employment and in voluntary service" (Solomon, *In the Company*, 172). Women were expected to put their education to voluntary use. "Professional attitudes and expertise characterized women's leadership in a wide range of initially voluntary undertakings," Barbara Solomon points out (*In the Company*, 124). It was held that "Community activities are in a very real sense a natural extension of the homemaker's duties" (Newcomer, *History of Higher Education*, 223). As Solomon describes it, the lines eventually blurred between volunteerism and professionalism, as more women moved into paid positions (Solomon, *In the Company*, 124). Despite this ongoing shift, volunteerism remained an outlet for the educated woman who might choose not to work or for the educated woman who could not work because of social expectations or lack of job access.

Volunteerism in the 1920s was sometimes attached to social feminist issues. Expressed in advocacy for women's issues, social feminism continued to thrive into the 1920s, when women's organisations worked for broad reforms "to civilize, democratize, and humanize the American system; as they worked for progressive reform, they advanced the status of American women" (J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* [Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1990], viii-ix). The social feminist movement was significantly different from modern-day feminism, although it did involve the improvement of women's lives. Women "created new organizations and established new contacts to promote progressivism in 1920s. They wanted the extension of government further into the areas of education, health, labor, and social welfare. The social justice movement, led by the social workers, found its principal allies to be the social feminists" (Lemons, *The Woman Citizen*, x-xi). The peace movement as well was a part of the social feminist movement. In higher education between the world wars, participants in the peace movement were often suspect. Nevertheless, it was an important impetus for many academics interested in international exchange, including Virginia Gildersleeve, cited earlier.

In the 1920s, despite women's changing views of themselves, including their right to pursue pleasure, some students did maintain an interest in issues of social change. They helped the poor and worked in settlements, hospitals, and similar institutions. During and after World War II, volunteerism remained important for college-educated women. A 1948 survey conducted by the American Association of University Women showed that 89 percent of married women with children were engaged in community activities, more than either married women without children or unmarried women (Newcomer, *History of Higher Education*, 227-228). Further, states Newcomer, "there is ample evidence that the college women hold volunteer positions out of proportion to their numbers." Newcomer believes that college education directly influenced women to participate in community volunteerism, because it honed their skills of speaking, writing, and speaking and because it built a sense of social conscience (*ibid.*, 229). When Newcomer tested her hypothesis through a survey of women listed in the 1954-55 *Who's Who in America*, 80 percent of those listed were college women, even though many of them had gained their accomplishments by volunteering (*ibid.*, 230).

The academic community has not considered volunteer work a bonafide professional use of education. Jacques Barzun, for example, in 1954, described the path of the young college-educated woman who "topped off college with shorthand and typewriting in case of need" and found "semi-responsible office work." "A few," he granted, "are real executives or specialists," but most are full-time housewives and mothers, willing to volunteer but actually debilitated by their education: "Of these, the most energetic may work for the League of Women Voters, or some benevolent organization. But usually their college training never comes into play; indeed they are probably handicapped by four years of leisure and learning for the battle of life over crib and stove" (Jacques Barzun, *Teacher in America* [New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954], 212). Statements such as this gave voice to the traditional beliefs that women's education involved elements of leisure and self-improvement, not professional or career-oriented development. Despite such attitudes, positions frequently involved leadership, management, and business acumen in settings where women might not otherwise have found ways to utilise their education in the larger world. Colleges may not have intended it, but they "were educating women to participate in public affairs in spite of themselves" (Newcomer, *History of Higher Education*, 225). Grounded in liberal training, requiring professional-level skills, the volunteerism of the mid-twentieth century represents significant work done in society, almost exclusively by women.

305. These beliefs about the nature of women's intellect, the purpose of women's education, and the utility of their pursuing the liberal curriculum were described mid-twentieth-century by educational theorist Jacques Barzun:

It is true that as a general rule, girls are less interested than boys in theory, in ideas, in the logic of things and events. . . . Girls are more conscientious and hardworking, they want to please their teachers more, and they do not want to be bothered by implications. They argue less, . . . Their imagination about the distant or the abstract is completely atrophied.

Though it may be hard work, the minds of women students can be forced out of their grooves of conventionality and made to cope even with abstractions. If the teacher takes pains to show repeatedly that concrete harm, good, suffering, pleasure, or profit follows from some belief or truth in question, a beginning can be made of substituting reason for memory. (Barzun, *Teacher in America*, 219)

The number of college women holding paid positions started growing even before the influence of the women's movement in the 1970s. The 1960 U.S. census shows that women represented 65 percent of the increase in the labor force between 1950 and 1960 (Solomon, *In the Company*, 195). Most of those women had a liberal arts education, presumed by educators like Barzun to prepare for leisure and represent cultural enrichment, but used by American women as training for public and professional life.

306. Solomon, *In the Company*, 186ff.

307. Ibid., 186-187.

308. This thesis has described, especially in Chapter Three, the predominance of liberal arts study abroad, utilising data from the Institute of Education (*Open Doors*), Peterson's publications (*Study Abroad* and *Summer Study Abroad*), and the Council on International Educational Exchange.

309. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 52.

310. See Stephen Cooper and Mary Anne Grant, "The Demographics of Education Abroad," in Hoffa, *NAFSA's Guide*, 96, and Koester, *Profile*, 13.

311. L. Robert Woodberry, "Sunday Forum: Internationalize University Curriculum with Exchanges," *Sunday* [Lewiston, Maine], 21 October 1990, page 3D.

312. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 5.

313. The University of California system established an initial programme in Paris for the express purpose of teacher education. (Henry Weaver, interview, CIEE Oral History Video Series (NAFSA Conference, Miami Beach, Fla., 1 June 1994), and the initial programmes of the Council on International Educational Exchange were for teacher education, the first in France and the second in Spain. (Jerry Johnson, interview, CIEE Oral History Series, Charlottesville, Va., 22 February 1994).

314. Goodwin and Nacht, *Missing the Boat*, 10.

315. The learning of a foreign language for its own sake, not just for the sake of teaching it, has been articulated as a motivation important to students participating in study abroad. Of the early Delaware alumni, for example, almost four out of five were undergraduate language majors. Of the Sweet Briar group, representing alumni from the inception of that programme until the end of the 1950s, 54 percent were undergraduate foreign language majors (Rogers 1958, 16, citing the Pace study). The Koester study cited strong interest in foreign language learning as a motive for going abroad as well: "The improvement of foreign language ability was of supreme importance to those who directly enrolled in a foreign institution, when on a U.S. sponsored program, a high school exchange, or independently studying" (Koester 1987, 83).

316. Ibid., 5, 6.

317. Pace, *The Junior Year in France*, 15, 16.

318. Matthew, *25 Years*, 2.

319. Ibid., 2-3.

320. Delfor Alumni Association, Alumni Questionnaire (1933), AR 97, Folder 1639, "Delfor," University of Delaware Archives.

-
321. Aureta E. Lewis, "Letters from a Junior in France" [1938], University of Delaware Archive 33/0/1, Box C, AR 44, Folder C-15, page 2.
322. Delfor Alumni Association, Alumni Questionnaire.
323. Ibid., 6.
324. JYF, 1974-1978, Sweet Briar Junior Year Abroad Alumni Newsletter (Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1979).
325. The gender difference here is interesting, suggesting the need for further research into the motives of male participants, to understand the role that study abroad has played in their professional development.
326. Cited in Norman L. Kauffmann, Judith N. Martin, Henry D. Weaver, with Judy Weaver, *Students Abroad, Strangers at Home -- Education for a Global Society* (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1992), 113; see also the Carlson study (the abridged version of the Elinor Barber/Barbara Burn study): J. S. Carlson, B. B. Burn, J. Useem, and D. Yachimowicz, *Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates in Western Europe and in the United States* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990).
327. Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 35.
328. While fewer than one percent of all American college students and just 2.1 percent of undergraduates at research universities go abroad in a given year, fully 8.5 percent of International 50 students participate in study abroad annually (Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 42). An American Council on Education survey of freshmen entering the International 50 colleges correlated their projected international professional interests with their language training. A comparison of International 50 responses with those of other students indicates early inclinations toward international careers or service work among those selecting the schools that emphasised international education in all forms, including prominent programmes for study abroad (Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 35).
329. Of students participating in U.S.-sponsored programmes abroad, 58 percent in 1984 and 41 percent in 1985 predicted a career influence from international study. Of students planning to enroll directly in a foreign university, 64 percent of the students from the 1984 group and 42 percent of those from the 1985 group predicted such an influence. Of students studying independently for credit, 68 percent in 1984 and 51 percent in 1985 predicted a career influence. Of students choosing study-travel options, 47 percent in 1984 and 28 percent in 1985 predicted a career influence. It is not surprising to find the lowest percentage of students perceiving the significance of study abroad in their career plans coming from the group choosing a study-travel tour option (Koester, *Profile*, 67, 38, 31, 24).
330. Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Survey," 21.
331. Ibid.

332. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 210-211.

333. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 146. An additional 4.1 percent of students registered in programmes labeled 'Education,' considered in this thesis to be part of the traditional curriculum for study abroad, though now identified in a separate disciplinary structure.

334. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 145-146.

335. A *National Mandate*, 4; Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 49. Also see Chapters One, Three, and Six for a description of policy goals for diversification and professional education.

336. Barbara Burn, "Progress Report: Education Abroad in the 1990s, Are We Moving in the Right Direction?," *Transitions Abroad* 17, no. 2 (September/October 1993), 67.

337. National Center for Educational Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1998* (Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 2000); Desruisseaux, "15% Rise." Also see Chapter One.

338. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 144, 146.

339. *Ibid.*, 145.

340. Cooper and Grant, "The Demographics," 94; citing *NCISPA Newsletter*, U.S. Department of Education Centers for International Education, No. 2, Jan. 1990, 7-9.

341. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 144-146.

342. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 49.

343. Todd Davis, e-mail correspondence, 20 May 1998; Pritchett, e-mail correspondence, 21 May 1998.

344. In 1993, there were 3,200 participants in the program. BUNAC (British University's North America Club), *Work in Britain*, Programme Handbook, 1994, 42.

345. Paul Feltman (Director of Work Abroad, Council on International Educational Exchange), interview, New York, 15 February 1995.

346. Internships, another new professionally oriented approach to education abroad, likewise attract female enrollments, though only suggestive pieces of information rather than comprehensive data are currently available to analyse the extent of student interest or the gender proportions of that interest.

Data collected by the Council on International Educational Exchanges, for example, suggest American student interest in internship, or pre-professional, placements abroad. Internships or field projects were offered through programmes in Hungary, Poland, the Dominican Republic, and Indonesia (Council on International Educational Exchange, *Council Viewbook* [New York: CIEE, 1995], all non-conventional sites and low-enrollment programmes. Of these, only the programme in Indonesia has enrolled more men than women. The programme in the Dominican Republic attracts appreciably more female registrants, and the other programmes attract marginally more

females. See Appendix A, Table 4.18, CIEE Programmes: Race, Ethnic, and Gender Enrollment Analysis, 1991-92 to 1993-94.

The motives of students who have chosen these internship programmes instead of broader and more traditional liberal arts curricula cannot be determined. These data are limited and only suggestive in their implications for the future, yet it is interesting to observe that in three out of four work-oriented programmes set in non-conventional locations, women remain the majority.

Some data are available to describe participant gender in specific professional programmes. The Council offered these in Germany, Japan, and Spain. See Appendix A, Table 4.18, CIEE Programmes: Race, Ethnic, and Gender Enrollment Analyses, 1991-92 to 1993-94, which identifies two professional programmes offered by CIEE that have attracted a majority of male participants. One, a summer engineering programme in Germany initiated in 1992, attracted a majority of male students, though very few students overall, and has been discontinued. The international business programme in Japan has also attracted more male students than female, although the available statistics demonstrate only a small portion of the programme's total enrollment, since computerised record keeping only began in 1991. The programme in Spain combines professional programmes with traditional liberal arts studies and has consistently enrolled more men than women overall, though a breakdown by disciplines is not available. Other programmes, however -- not specifically professional in their disciplines but including a non-traditional focus which might attract students seeking professional development, such as the tropical ecology in Costa Rica -- attracted more than two female participants for every male.

347. Davis, *Open Doors 1996/97*, 146.

348. Jorge Fontana, "Disciplinary Points of View: A Science and Technology," in William H. Allaway and Hallam C. Shorrock, *Dimensions of International Higher Education* (The University of California Symposium on Education Abroad) (Boulder and London: Westview Special Studies in Education, 1985), 76.

349. Goodwin and Nacht, *Missing the Boat*, 29-31.

350. Hossein Hakim, unpublished letter, 21 May 1993, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.

351. Helle Gjerlufsen (Secretary to the Director), private documents, Denmark International Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark, 3 May 1993. DIS is a foundation of the Danish Educational Ministry and affiliated with the University of Copenhagen.

352. See Table 253: Bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees conferred by institutions of higher education by sex of student and field of study: 1995-96 (prepared April 1998), in U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary "Completions" Survey, URL <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs99/digest98/chapter3.html> (accessed 1/11/2000).

353. U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1998* (Washington: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1998). See Table 172 in Chapter 3: Postsecondary Education, 1.

354. Ibid., Table 250.

355. Ibid., Table 253.

356. This possibility was developed by an analysis of baccalaureate degrees compared to study abroad enrollments in the sample professional enrollment data provided in this section. Sources include Gjerlufsen, documents; Hakim, unpublished letter; and Council on International Education Exchange, *Council Viewbook*. Also see Appendix A, Table 4.18, the CIEE enrollment analyses done for this thesis, as well as editions of the *Digest of Education Statistics* (Washington: U.S. Department of Education and National Center for Educational Statistics, 1991, 1994, 1998).

Participant gender data were developed from 1994 U.S. Department of Education statistics to correspond to enrollment data available for this study. Enrollments in business and management, business and office, and marketing and distribution totaled 256,603, of which 135,440 (52.8 percent) were male and 121,163 (47.2 percent) female. Within that category, degrees awarded in international business management numbered 1,978: 901 male (45.6 percent) and 1,077 female (54.4 percent) (U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1990*, Table 224, page 237). In other words, all students, including women, have enrolled in business majors in relatively large numbers. Women have enrolled in international business programmes in marginally larger numbers than men, even though, as previously described, women were in the minority in selected overseas business programmes.

In the physical sciences, a total of 16,960 degrees were awarded: male 11,431 (67.4 percent); female 5,529 (32.6 percent). In the biological life sciences, 42,941 bachelors degrees were awarded: 20,798 to men (48.4 percent) and 22,143 to women (51.6 percent). Men and women in roughly equal proportions have chosen the life sciences, although in substantially smaller numbers than those choosing business. As described above, women did outnumber men significantly in the CIEE tropical biology program -- an interesting but not statistically meaningful detail.

In the health sciences, not differentiating among majors or career goals, a total of 61,720 degrees were offered: male 10,189 (16.5 percent); female 51,531 (83.5 percent). No significant gender evidence is available about enrollment in health sciences study abroad programmes.

In engineering education in the United States, in all fields of engineering and engineering technologies, 77,541 degrees were offered: 66,716 to men (86 percent) and 10,825 to women (14 percent). Once again, the overwhelming majority is male, although female students may indeed be attending overseas engineering programmes in greater proportions than in domestic baccalaureate engineering programmes.

The available data suggest that women may participate in professional study abroad programmes like engineering or the physical and life sciences, even at a rate that exceeds that of women pursuing degrees in those fields. In business, more women receive degrees in international business; correspondingly high numbers of women register in business programmes overseas.

357. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 52.

-
358. Olmsted, "Sixty Years," 6.
359. Ibid.
360. Delfor Alumni Association, Alumni Questionnaire.
361. Pace, *The Junior Year in France*, 15-16; see Table 4.14, which describes 79 percent of female and 90 percent of male participants voicing career aspirations; Carlson et al., *Study Abroad*.
362. Goodwin and Nacht, *Missing the Boat*, 10.
363. *JYF*, 1974-78.
364. BUNAC, *Work in Britain*, Programme Handbook, 1994, 42.
365. Foucault, *Discipline*, 183-184; Michel Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?," in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books), 39.
366. Foucault, *Discipline*, 194.
367. Ibid., 180-194.
368. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 16.
369. Ibid., 172-173; Mourad, *Postmodern Philosophical Critique*, 60; Cohen, interview.

Chapter Five

Policy Discourse

Statistical reports compiled by the Institute of International Education portray a marginal role for U.S. undergraduate study abroad within American higher education: only 1.2 percent of the total U.S. undergraduate population at American four-year institutions and 0.62 percent of all undergraduates, including those at two-year institutions, study overseas.¹

Calls for enhancing the role of study abroad in the American academy have been offered in policy statements of the last twenty-five years. Study abroad advocates have stressed the goal to educate globally competent citizens capable of functioning in an interdependent world. They have called for ten percent of U.S. undergraduate students to study overseas by the year 2000.

This thesis has adapted Michel Foucault's theory of the power of discourse to analyse this relative failure of policy and to establish a framework for policy evaluation. For Foucault, the purpose of inquiry is to expose the foundations of belief in order to undermine their validity.² With this exposure comes the potential

for transformation of the episteme and a subsequent redistribution of power.³

In Foucault's vision, transformation cannot occur through calls for change in strategy or action. Transformation is possible only when the episteme that controls the fundamental perception of an activity changes. These fundamental codes "do not perish in response to a compelling independent body of contrary evidence and argument, but rather . . . in response to cultural sea changes."⁴ While these changes are most often discontinuous⁵ -- they emerge suddenly and without historical referent -- it is also possible to create the potential for 'sea change' through the introduction of new discourse that challenges the acceptance of the episteme.⁶

This change is accomplished by inquiry into the foundations of the existing episteme, thereby exposing how and in whose interest powerful beliefs developed and then in framing an opportunity for alternative discourses to be heard.⁷ Foucault argues that those best suited to create the conditions making transformation possible are members of the group affected by an episteme because it is they who speak the language and understand the issues of their group and have the greatest opportunity, therefore, to communicate with other group members. And

it is they who experience the limitations the episteme imposes upon them.⁸

Study abroad is an academic activity. It is the members of the academy who are constrained in their actions by the episteme: Those distrusting the quality and purpose of study abroad receive their definition of its lack of value through the episteme. Those advocating foreign education are limited by the episteme from gaining support.

It is the advocates of overseas education who seek change. As members of the academy, albeit marginalised, they do understand its terminology and its concerns. They suffer the constraints the episteme about study abroad imposes on their ability to gain recognition for the worth they perceive in this educational activity. It is from this group and those affiliated with it that so many policy makers have emerged. Though they are members of the higher education community themselves, nonetheless their calls to action have not succeeded in transforming the traditional beliefs about study abroad.

There is a relationship between the power of the episteme and the formation and reception of policy. There is a tendency for policy discourse to be framed by this episteme that marginalises those supporting study abroad.

The work of this thesis provides a framework for an analysis of the difficulties policy makers have encountered in achieving their call for change in the valuation of study abroad. This assessment can be conducted through an evaluation of the role traditional beliefs have played in the formation and reception of representative policy statements.

Part One in this chapter will summarise the results of the inquiry conducted in this thesis thus far, an inquiry which composes the framework for policy analysis. Part Two will evaluate policy discourse. Part Three will apply Foucault's perspective (that the purpose of inquiry is to generate transformation of the episteme) to an assessment of possible avenues for policy development, including identifying arenas for future research about foreign education. The chapter will conclude with a delineation of the outcomes of this thesis.

Part One. The Analytical Framework

This study has concerned itself with those statements, or traditional beliefs, that mutually support one another and through the process of discursive formation become a dominant vision. This formation crosses that 'threshold of epistemologization'⁹ to ordain truth for all who participate within a culture.

The thesis has argued that study abroad is marginalised because a set of traditional beliefs coalesced to form the episteme that dismisses study abroad as academically weak and without significant functional purpose, especially in the area of professional preparation. This marginalisation excludes the alternative discourses that, within their own isolated community, validate the academic and functional worth of overseas education. Chapter One described the statistical marginality of study abroad in American higher education and outlined the policy goals offered to remedy that marginalisation. It identified clichés within the discourse intimating that study abroad is not widely valued.

Chapter Two established the methods by which to evaluate the marginalisation of study abroad and the relative ineffectiveness of policy. Michel Foucault's concept of archaeological inquiry -- an examination of the fields and formation of discourse¹⁰ toward an end of understanding how the episteme formed and whom it has legitimised -- has been adapted in this thesis to identify and contextualise the traditional beliefs leading to the episteme which disenfranchise study abroad sponsors, participants, and advocates. Foucault's concept of genealogy -- a mode of inquiry designed to step back from dominant visions to explore discourse and

illuminate those discourses excluded by the norm -- is adapted here to bring to light the beliefs expressed about the worth of foreign education by sponsors and participants. Finally, Foucault's concept of transformation is utilised as a guideline in this chapter to facilitate the evaluation of policy discourse.

Adapting the perspective of archaeological inquiry, Chapter Three sought a field of discourse that might demonstrate the existence of traditional beliefs and contextualised their development and their rationalisation to form the prevailing episteme. This episteme is found consistently in the discourse of the American higher education community and characterises study abroad in this way:

- Study abroad follows the Grand Tour tradition, providing a Eurocentric educational experience for the sake of cultural acquisition.
- Study abroad is for women and thus not academically significant.
- Study abroad is for wealthy women from wealthy institutions.
- Study abroad offers a liberal arts programme of study, inapplicable to professional development.

- Study abroad programmes are academically weak since education is better in the United States than anywhere abroad.

These beliefs coalesce to produce the over-arching episteme, which results in the marginalisation of study abroad and its sponsors and participants, the empowerment of domestic over foreign education, the impotence of policy designed to strengthen study abroad, the invalidation of the worth of the female participants, and the exclusion of the alternative discourses.

Chapter Four, adapting the genealogical perspective to an analysis of these alternative discourses, illuminated the validation of study abroad by its sponsors and participants. Faculty and administrative supporters envisioned study abroad programmes as high-quality academic experiences for all students and presumed that female participants were as academically motivated as their male counterparts. From the earliest programmes, study abroad was conceived by sponsors to provide career preparation and professional training -- indeed to improve the career options open to women -- and to educate students to function productively and contribute as effective citizens in the global community.

Participant discourse revealed conceptions and practices that validated education abroad as a unique

experience, offering opportunities not available domestically. From the start of modern U.S. study abroad programmes to the present, these students, predominantly female, manifested a belief that study abroad was sufficiently valuable that they were willing to endure physical hardships in order to study, both in Europe and in the Third World. Participants are defined in discourse and in practice as high academic achievers who consistently identified the academic experience as a primary reason for studying abroad. They considered themselves, female and male participants alike, to be academically motivated students with professional futures for which their study abroad experience was preparing them. Study abroad participants -- especially women whose careers are grounded in the liberal curriculum -- clearly articulated the relevance of study abroad's liberal curriculum to their professional goals.

In sum, the episteme defining study abroad in the American academy has devalued its worth and obscured the discourse of those who pursued it.

In the context of this inquiry, this thesis now turns to the evaluation of policy discourse, seeking to discover whether it, too, is constrained by the episteme. If policy discourse itself helps to sustain traditional belief within the higher education community -- an audience that receives policy, when it hears it at all,

with preordained disinterest, already convinced of the superiority of the American education they provide -- then the effect of that policy discourse is compromised.

Part Two. The Contributions of Traditional Belief to Policy Failure

Policy discourse¹¹ about study abroad is formulated by policy makers who come to their role from a variety of locations. Some are among the faculty and administrators who sponsor study abroad for their students. Others are trained in the academic disciplines, such as foreign languages, whose interests lend themselves to study abroad. Some represent groups affiliated with the academy, the non-governmental agencies or governmental agencies whose charges encompass study abroad activities and issues. Some are from the private sector, seeking through an academic venue training they perceive missing in their employee pool.¹² This group -- most especially those rooted in the academy -- is among those who can say most clearly, "I know that knowledge can transform us."¹³

While some members of a community may hold a vision not entirely circumscribed by an episteme that dominates its perception, nonetheless the power of an episteme is so pervasive that it is impossible to escape its influence fully.¹⁴ In the case of study abroad, while policy makers might draw their potential strength as

communicators through their membership in or affiliation with the academy, they cannot fully escape the power of its episteme to define not only their advocacy but their conceptions.

Even as policy advocates ask the higher education community to recognise the value of study abroad, an analysis of their discourse reveals they often interpret study abroad through the traditional beliefs describing it. If the potential for transformation lies in the introduction of new discourse, policy which prescribes change without challenging beliefs will be perceived to advocate positions deemed insignificant. This discourse can perpetuate the episteme that marginalises it. Even if inadvertently, policy makers contribute to reinforcing the episteme by directly expressing traditional beliefs, by stating evidence which sustains the belief without countering it with conceptions from the alternative discourses, or by asserting information contrary to traditional belief, without any effort to introduce new discourse to help establish alternative conceptions.¹⁵

This assessment is derived from an analysis of policy discourse. Chapter One established two reports as representative of the discourse within the academic community: *Educating for Global Competence: The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange*,¹⁶ published by the Council for International

Educational Exchange in 1988; and *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task*,¹⁷ a report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad published by NAFSA: Association for International Educators in 1990. The statements in these reports, as well as beliefs conveyed by report contributors in their other writing, constitute a discourse field in which to identify the presence of traditional beliefs held by policy advocates and conveyed in their texts.

The authors of these reports are advocates of study abroad, yet they are constrained by the prevailing episteme, which not only confines their vision but also obscures alternative discourses and practices.

For example, comments by policy advocates about the Grand Tour suggest how traditional beliefs are perpetuated in the discourse, and alternative discourses are ignored. Both the CIEE and the NAFSA reports at times reflect the traditional belief that study abroad is a Grand Tour, echoing negative definitions, providing no context for how the definitions developed, and illuminating no alternative discourse.

Educating for Global Competence specifically links the Junior Year Abroad to the Grand Tour: "The traditional grand tour, part of the education of a small segment of young Americans in the past, and the more recent 'Junior Year Abroad,' focused on the European

cultural heritage and was most applicable to the liberal arts and humanities students." From this association, the report leads to a recommendation: "Now global competence for our citizens requires us to expand study abroad into other areas."¹⁸ Suggesting that study abroad has not helped students develop global competence, such statements sustain the episteme that foreign education does not offer professional preparation or serious academic study.

Policy authors also describe the European focus of study abroad, so closely connected to the Grand Tour conception. The NAFSA report states that study abroad opportunities "still focus predominantly on Western Europe" and "largely neglect the rest of the world."¹⁹ Observing that the majority of U.S. students continue to go to Western Europe, the authors comment: "This is neither good public policy nor good education."²⁰

Statements such as this, intended to advocate diversified locations for study, can inadvertently reassert the link between Europe as a location and study abroad as a devalued cultural pursuit. Other links have the same effect. For example, the NAFSA report also links the predominant study abroad programmes to the humanities and social sciences, saying that they provide "essential insight into our own culture and history,"²¹ a statement in danger of reinforcing the traditional belief

that study abroad in Europe results in cultural acquisition and that the liberal curriculum pursued there does not enhance global competence.

As Chapter Three described, traditional beliefs about the European Grand Tour systematised with conceptions about women and the role of their education, helping produce the episteme about study abroad. These formations emerge in policy discourse as well.

One example is found in statements by Richard Lambert, Director of the National Foreign Language Center at the Johns Hopkins University, contributor to *Educating for Global Competence*, and a resource for *A National Mandate*. Lambert has described the typical study abroad participant as a prosperous white woman studying foreign languages, the humanities, or social sciences.²² This statement connects study abroad with well-to-do women who go abroad to pursue the liberal arts or to undertake the language study Chapters Three and Four described as being so frequently devalued in the American academy. These inadvertent associations can occur even though Lambert is a vigorous advocate of foreign study.

Barbara Burn recognises the power of traditional beliefs that education for women is perceived as less serious than that for men.²³ She has tried to challenge beliefs that denigrate study abroad as an experience primarily for women.²⁴ Nonetheless, her statement,

reported in Chapter Three, that the current study abroad programmes are different from earlier ones in that they no longer send women abroad to train them as 'cultural guardians',²⁵ reflects and reaffirms traditional beliefs.

Both the CIEE and the NAFSA report recommend that programmes be broadened and strengthened. NAFSA report authors in particular bemoan "the narrow scope of undergraduate education abroad," which "limits opportunities to a select few."²⁶ The CIEE report states that the population of U.S. college students studying abroad represents "a narrow spectrum of the population," "predominantly white females from highly educated professional families."²⁷ The accepted demographics suggest wealth, or at least prosperity. The NAFSA report concludes that study abroad is for "a small fraction of American undergraduates, mainly upper middle class."²⁸ These statements, without contextualisation or expression of an alternative discourse that describes the career preparation motives articulated for overseas study, reinforce the Grand Tour perception that associates wealthy females with study abroad.

The NAFSA report does attack the belief that study abroad is expensive: "There is also the perception, often not accurate, that study abroad adds materially to educational costs, thus preventing some who would otherwise be interested from considering it seriously."²⁹

This is a stand-alone statement, however, with no reflection about why, even with financial aid, women continue to be the primary users of study abroad, and with no discussion of the empowerment by the episteme of those who develop policy to discourage the use of financial aid for overseas education.

Policy statements continue to sustain the belief that study abroad is the domain of wealthy women. In the emergence of the episteme, beliefs about women and wealth also systematised with beliefs about liberal education. The same beliefs are reflected in the discourse of study abroad's advocates.

Barbara Burn described the dominance of the humanities in study abroad.³⁰ Without reference to alternative discourses, this statement could be heard as confirmation that the liberal curriculum did not further professional development. Likewise Archer Brown, Deputy Director of NAFSA and therefore an influential voice in *A National Mandate*, has written that U.S. students abroad have focused on language and culture, rather than on career skills training, noting that only now has professional preparation become significant. Again, the traditional belief goes unchallenged by the alternative discourse describing study in the liberal arts as a career preparation path.³¹

Indeed, the authors of both reports assume that since study abroad is primarily a liberal arts experience, it is unconnected to professional training. The under representation of the professional disciplines is described in both reports. The reports urge diversification of disciplines, but their calls go uncontextualised. For example, in the CIEE report, study abroad is described as having been "most applicable to the liberal arts and humanities students," yet it needs to expand "into other areas: mathematics, science, medicine, business and industry, technology, international affairs, economics and education."³² Likewise the 1990 NAFSA report states that study abroad opportunities focus primarily on humanities and social science studies and "largely neglect . . . internationally important professional fields."³³ In these calls to include professional disciplines, the reports do not introduce the alternative discourses. The perceived tradition in the alternative discourses -- that foreign education offers a unique avenue for developing skills relevant to career goals and global capability -- is entirely absent.

The NAFSA report offers no description of the practices reflected in the alternative discourse communities when arguing for increased corporate support for study abroad. Statements within both reports build

on the assumption that early programmes had no professional foundation, overlooking the discourse of sponsors, like the University of Delaware programme founders, who articulated goals to train globally competent citizens to operate professionally throughout the world and who instituted, from the start, practices to draw the corporate world into programme sponsorship.³⁴ The NAFSA report indicates that corporate concern for international competence is a new phenomenon,³⁵ directly reflecting the traditional beliefs degrading the academic and functional value of study abroad. Nor do the reports convey the alternative discourse of participants and their career development motivations.

Not all policy discourse reflects perceptions fully controlled by the episteme. Just as the NAFSA report suggested the inaccuracy of beliefs about the high cost of study abroad, so too the advocacy discourse about the academic quality of study abroad does not always reflect the traditional belief that overseas education is academically unchallenging. Once again, though, this advocacy discourse may sometimes inadvertently reinforce the traditional belief.

The NAFSA report reflects this: "Although in the past undergraduate study abroad may have in some instances been deficient in academic substance and lacked institutional and national support, its importance is now

beginning to be more widely recognized in the United States."³⁶ The language reinforces suspicions about academic worth, by implying that with new appreciation will come better quality, though at the same time it indicates that foreign study was not always academically weak. The report does recognise that an inhibitor to study abroad has been "inadequate information about education abroad opportunities and their relative quality."³⁷ Yet that statement stands unqualified, without any reference to the alternative discourses about the quality of programmes and the students for whom they were built.

The NAFSA report does address perceptions that study abroad is academically weak. "Unfortunately, there are some programs in existence which deserve criticism; but these are the great exception," it reads. "They are easily offset by examples of learning experience abroad which surpass the experience of those who study only on campus."³⁸ It criticises faculty for "selectively" focusing on student reports that study abroad was not as rigorous as study at home and for ignoring the "academic legitimacy" of many student experiences,³⁹ but it does not explore the counter-examples describing alternative practices.

While its assertions challenge traditional beliefs, they are presented without contextual evaluation or the

new discourse. Instead these statements are likely to be dismissed since they do not conform to the normalised view of the episteme. The CIEE report does identify study abroad participants as high achieving, risk-taking women, although the statement occurs in the same paragraph as the phrase describing the majority of study abroad participants wealthy white women studying the liberal arts.⁴⁰

Both reports recognise the widely held belief that education abroad is inferior to education at home, and both reports try to counter it. The CIEE report cites that "Foreign academic systems and facilities may be perceived as inadequate, inhospitable or not matching up with their own structure, and therefore not conducive to an effective learning environment for American students."⁴¹ The NAFSA report also reports the extent to which study abroad is held suspect within the higher education community⁴² and recommends institutional strategies to encourage faculty support.⁴³ Neither report inquires into the formation of the beliefs and their empowerment nor introduces the alternative discourses to help transform them.

In these policy statements, advocates do present their views of the worth of study abroad and the enhanced role it should play in higher education. Given the traditional beliefs of the audience receiving it, this is

a discourse received with skepticism. It is a discourse directed to the domestic educators, whose vision of the superiority of their institutions over those abroad is conferred by the episteme they are being challenged to abandon.

The policy reports assert the value of study abroad. As Foucault argues, however, change does not come through claiming it; it comes through the exposure of the foundations of epistemic power and the subsequent introduction of new discourses associated with this process of inquiry. These steps are missing in contemporary policy discourse. Contextualisation -- investigating the origins and emergence of the devaluing beliefs about study abroad -- is entirely absent from the reports, as is an articulation of whose vision is empowered by these beliefs. There is no inquiry of the type Foucault described as necessary if conditions for transformation of belief is to be created.

Because such inquiry is absent, so is the new discourse that would be produced by it. The new discourse introduced through an archaeological-style investigation that exposes the foundations of traditional beliefs and reveals them to be the products of historical confluence not absolute truth is not present. Nor are the alternative discourses illuminated through a

genealogical-style investigation revealing a discourse and practice of perceived worth for study abroad.

Instead, assertions of worth -- statements claiming that overseas education is academically strong; participants, including female participants, are very capable; and not all programmes are costly -- stand unsupported.

According to Foucault, what is heard in discourse is that which is synonymous with normalised views. What is likely to be heard in policy discourse, then, are those statements that appear to confirm the suspicions embedded in the traditional beliefs. Statements describing study abroad participants as wealthy women, criticising European-based programmes as bad educational policy, describing some programmes as academically weak and the curriculum as cultural -- regardless of why they may have been articulated or how inadvertent their impact -- contain language that mirrors and reinforces the normalised view.

Foucault argues that no members of a discursive community are able to divest themselves completely of the beliefs which form the fundamental view of their group. Following this idea, this thesis suggests that policy makers are unable to divest themselves completely of the power of the episteme.

In some cases these advocates overtly sustain the traditional beliefs by presenting them as truths -- for example, describing earlier twentieth-century programmes as Grand Tours or describing liberal studies as a cultural, not also a career preparation curriculum. Policy makers offer prescriptive statements that confirm traditional beliefs, either by commission or by omission, rather than contextualising belief or descriptively introducing alternative discourses and practices into the discussion.

It is one of the conclusions of this thesis that policy discourse does not foster the conditions Foucault describes as being necessary for the emergence of new discourse and the possible mutation of an episteme.

For policy goals to succeed, the American higher education community needs to be persuaded that study abroad is worthy of support. The episteme devaluing study abroad as academically weak and functionally irrelevant endows the domestic academic community with power. Calls to give up this power and share respect and resources with foreign education programmes undermine the benefits the episteme confers upon the community. Advocacy discourse inadvertently or overtly reinforces traditional beliefs, without introducing the possibility for new discourse that might generate the conditions for epistemic change. This analysis of policy discourse now

turns to the opportunities for policy makers to introduce new discourse into the American dialogue about study abroad.

Part Three. New Discourse and Policy

According to Foucault, transformation of beliefs is accomplished by viewing inquiry as a call to action. "Inquiry acts upon reality," and "the inquirer must aim to change the ensemble of rules that determine what is true and what is false, and that thereby govern action."⁴⁴ As discourse changes, beliefs change, and with them, definitions of the normal and abnormal change as well.⁴⁵

To enhance the possibilities for developing policies that would meet with increased acceptance and success for their goals, policy makers could consider policy formulation which would generate conditions in which transformation is possible -- not transformation of policy by their fiat, but rather transformation of the episteme that marginalises study abroad and their policy.

Policy makers are unlikely to turn to theory like Foucault's to explore how to build policy. As this chapter has described, they come from diverse backgrounds where these types of theories are not necessarily prominent. Nonetheless, Foucault's approach to the power of discourse and the episteme it produces, and his vision of how an episteme might change, suggest new approaches to policy formulation.

Adapting Foucault's vision of the purpose and methods of inquiry suggests policy makers engage in research that uncovers the foundations of beliefs about study abroad and exposes the vested power an episteme upholds. Exploration of the alternative discourses could make accessible to the policy makers and to their audiences the conceptions and practices of those who have supported modern study abroad since its inception in the United States after World War I. Such approaches to policy formulation could introduce the possibility for new discourse into the national and international dialogue about study abroad. This approach also offers the possibility to the policy makers themselves, as they explore the temporal events which formed the discourse creating the episteme about study abroad and the alternative discourses excluded by it, that they might more effectively divest themselves of the power of the episteme to constrain their own view⁴⁶ and empower themselves to introduce further new discourse into their policy formation.

Advocates, affected by the episteme but not fully controlled by it, do articulate goals for research to increase understanding about the function and utility of study abroad. *Educating for Global Competence* (1988) does call for inquiry: "Deliberate evaluation and further research must be carried out on study abroad, with regard

to actual numbers and categories of students, where they go, what they do and how they do it, and the extent to which their programs meet the objectives of their institutions."⁴⁷

However, following Foucault, inquiry that ignores the existence and power of discourse to produce beliefs and ignores the roots of their formation will not contribute to circumstances conducive to transformation of an episteme. Successful inquiry 'flushes out' the past and tries to change it.⁴⁸ This process of inquiry enables the investigator to introduce the new discourse that must be heard if transformation is to occur.

Attention to the need for policy to be heard is also suggested by Foucault's perspective on the power of discourse. As Chapter Two described, discursive power is not exerted by an authority from above or from outside a discursive community. Rather, power is exercised by everyone in the community as the discourse they conduct with one another creates and sustains an episteme.⁴⁹ Together the members of a group define what is believed and normalised and what is suspect and marginal.⁵⁰

This conception of how an episteme is formed, including the episteme about study abroad, suggests that for beliefs about study abroad to be changed, the entire higher education community should become participants in any new dialogue about study abroad, becoming targets for

policy dissemination and even partners in policy formulation. While such a model of inclusion cannot guarantee faculty support for study abroad, it can enhance the possibilities that conditions for the emergence of a new set of beliefs might emerge.

This need is made more compelling, given the democratic and decentralised structure of American higher education. There is not centralised authority, either nationally, regionally, or locally, which can mandate a change in study abroad activity.

"[O]ur mode of college and university governance is unparalleled," writes Martin Trow of the institutional structure in American higher education. "Lay boards and strong presidents, certainly strong by comparison with their counterparts elsewhere, command large administrative staffs located inside the institutions rather than in some central ministry or governmental agency."⁵¹ Not only is the system decentralised at the federal and state levels, but also within the institutions themselves. The power of curricular development usually rests with the faculty. "One of the longest traditions of the higher learning has been its autonomy," writes John Brubacher of American post-secondary institutions. "The guild of scholars has administered its own affairs."⁵²

Transformation of policy cannot occur by dictation in the American system. Change emerges from within the system itself. Nor does any centralised mechanism exist to ensure that faculty and administrators become part of a dialogue expressing new discourse which might promote an interest in changed policy.

Policy reports do mention this need to get key discourse heard. The 1990 NAFSA report identifies steps which must occur for policy recommendations to be implemented: "We urge that at each level the community concerned with undergraduate study abroad work through existing organizations to move strategically on these goals. Where organizations do not exist they must be created or the task absorbed within some other entity."⁵³ The report urges action on the national, state, and institutional levels. *"The goal is to create a grassroots mandate for study abroad."*⁵⁴

The CIEE report also articulates the need to involve the broader community if respect for and utilisation of study abroad opportunities are to grow:

Expansion of study abroad, as an essential part of the strategy, will require initiative and support from campus leadership as well as from leadership outside higher education institutions. Our report is intended to reinforce the understanding of such leadership about how to get on with the job.⁵⁵

This report encourages college and university presidents, senior officers and boards, as well as legislators to act to

expand international activities in higher education.⁵⁶

However, while both the NAFSA and the CIEE reports call for inclusion of many constituencies in the dialogue about study abroad use, rarely does discourse about foreign education receive widespread dissemination, as this section will show. For example, the most recent report from the American Council on Education's Commission on International Education, a commission of 46 college presidents and the heads of international education associations, was applauded as uniquely helpful not because it presented new ideas but because of the audience to whom it was directed. William Hoffa expressed these views in his response to the report:

What is different is that this report is FROM college presidents TO ALL college presidents of 2- and 4-year, private and public, institutions. Those among us who have been fearful that our own sense of urgency was a species of preaching to the converted, and perhaps disappointed over the slow process of internationalization on our campuses, can take some measure of pride and satisfaction that we have been heard and understood, and that our cause (though not ours alone!) is now being trumpeted from on high.⁵⁷

This statement from a senior international education consultant articulates the need for policy discourse to be heard and recognises that, in the past, policy reports have been the topic of discussion within the international education community but not outside it.

The authors of the ACE report recognised such a need, and Hoffa applauded it. Nonetheless, their report circulated only to college presidents. Reports do not circulate to the grassroots faculty who make curricular decisions -- the individuals who, it is recognised in the reports, must support policy in order for it to be implemented.

It is suggested here that, to build grassroots support, all who hold the power -- the members of the academy -- need join in the discourse.

Some recognition of this responsibility to engage the broader higher education community in dialogue about study abroad is emerging in practice. Efforts by newly emerging professional associations reflect this recognition of the need for both research and adequate dissemination of it.

For example, the Association of International Education Administrators (AIEA), formed in 1982 to support senior international education administrators, publishes the *International Education Forum*. AIEA recently issued "A Research Agenda for the Internationalization of Higher Education in the U.S."⁵⁸ AIEA also awards grants totaling \$10,000 annually in support of research related to all forms of international education.⁵⁹ In the fall of 1995, Boston University began publishing its journal on international educational exchange, called *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal*

of *Study Abroad*, designed to have an academic orientation, with appeal to both students and faculty.⁶⁰ And, since 1997 the Council on International Educational Exchange has published a biennial *Journal of Studies in International Education*.

While these organisations support research in the field and, in some cases, publication of that research, journals on study abroad rarely circulate outside the international education community. Boston University's journal, while read by some faculty and intended for many, reaches only libraries and study abroad professionals.⁶¹ This is also true for the Council and AIEA's journals.⁶² Articles that might engage the broader faculty community have not reached them.

In an effort to strengthen the voice of study abroad advocates, the Council on International Educational Exchange has expanded its research agenda by planning joint research and publication projects with other international education groups, including AIEA, beginning in the year 2000. Several regional and national organisations in international education⁶³ will join forces with Council to stimulate research in international education, an effort out of which a new publication, the *Journal*, will be the first concrete product. This new organisation, the Association for Studies in International Education, intends to be:

an inter-organizational body whose mission is to encourage serious research and publications dealing with international education and academic mobility, to stimulate interest in such work (both in the international education community and in academic circles in general, and to develop and promote ways to disseminate this work in cost-effective and accessible formats.⁶⁴

As the new *Journal* and other publications mentioned above encourage and publicise research on international education, they represent venues where articles introducing new and alternative discourses might be published. Further, panels encouraging the development of a research agenda have begun to appear at national conferences, such as those of NAFSA: the Association of International Education Administrators, the Mexican Association of International Educators, and the European Association for International Education.⁶⁵

These efforts extend the voice of policy advocates, though the audience they encounter remains largely within the boundaries of the international education community, and no plan is articulated to extend their reach.

Empirical studies of colleges and universities with successful, broadly supported study abroad programmes indicate that one of the most effective methods for change is to "build widespread faculty support",⁶⁶ suggests Ann Kelleher, who conducted such a study. In other words, success is achieved by engaging faculty

across the entire curriculum, revising the episteme about study abroad within the institution itself, and thereby building grassroots support of the type called for in the NAFSA report. Such an initiative moves outside the international education community to effect study abroad development, and indicates that stepping outside the international education audience to engage others in dialogue about study abroad would enhance the possibility for its acceptance.

Therefore, this thesis suggests that foreign education policy advocates not only seek wide distribution venues for their statements, but also seek partnership in discourse development and dissemination with faculty outside international education circles. Those faculty might be the most persuasive to their own colleagues -- certainly more so than the policy maker themselves have been to date.

A model for this approach exists in the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB). In collaboration with the Association of American Colleges, AACSB sponsored research and published the previously mentioned *Beyond Borders: Profiles in International Education*,⁶⁷ a book that presents case studies of how business and liberal arts faculties cooperate to plan innovative international education projects. The two organisations collaborated to undertake, publish, and

disseminate all research to their joint constituencies, thereby extending its audience. Each organisation carried to its own constituency the credibility needed to give weight to the message.

NAFSA recognised the importance of working with other academic organisations when it sought input from other associations in reviewing its own 1990 policy report and invited members of some disciplinary associations to have input into policy development.⁶⁸ But the NAFSA report was not circulated to faculty in member organisations, nor was it a research report. The approach offered instead by *Beyond Borders* includes joint research reaching an audience beyond those already committed to international education. Not only would more faculties be reached, but they would be more likely to find their own belief systems challenged, since the message would be coming from within their own disciplines. Groups develop their own discourse with defining power.⁶⁹ The members of an organisation are more likely to believe a message if it comes from their own leadership, in their own 'language.'

This suggests study abroad advocates should reach out to various disciplinary organisations, both to disseminate new and alternative discourses and to forge links among associations as they formulate new goals and strategies. The range of potential links across the

disciplines of the American academy is extensive, as indicated by the association membership of the American Council of Learned Societies, listed in Appendix A, Table 5.1.

In *The Uses of Pleasure*, Michel Foucault describes the burden imposed on those who would wish change. "There are times in life when the question of knowing if one can think differently than one thinks, and perceive differently than one sees, is absolutely necessary if one is to go on looking and reflecting at all," he writes.⁷⁰ In other words, there are times when a shift in perspective is helpful and when self-reflection and self-criticism must turn the spotlight on elusive traditional beliefs.⁷¹ The suggestions made through an adaptation of Foucault's theory of discourse for new approaches for study abroad policy formation and dissemination could offer the opportunity for this 'self-reflection' and 'change in perspective.'

This thesis has illustrated that study abroad is marginalised by an episteme which devalues it, excludes the discourses of those who do value it, and leaves policy makers ineffective to change its role. The evaluation of policy discourse, framed by this analysis, indicates policy makers, while arguing for the value of study abroad, at the same time are constrained by the powerful episteme. Their discourse often reflects and

reinforces the traditional beliefs they wish to change. Policy discourse rarely reaches beyond the international education community that already endorses it and, even should it, statements inadvertently echo the devaluing episteme rather than transform it.

This analysis suggests new steps for forging and disseminating study abroad policy:

- Policy makers could engage in research of the type suggested by Foucault's archaeological method for inquiry. Advocates could acknowledge the episteme about study abroad and investigate its formation. They could reveal the associations which carry power within the formation of the traditional beliefs, such as those linking study abroad with a devaluation of women's education and the liberal arts. They could articulate the resulting validation of domestic education and invalidation of foreign education. This process of inquiry could introduce the possibility of new discourse.
- Advocates could adapt a mode of inquiry modeled on Foucault's genealogy, or illumination of excluded discourses, to conduct research into the conceptions and practices of the sponsors and

participants, introducing these alternative discourses into the dialogue on study abroad.

- Through these processes, policy advocates could enhance their own self-understanding and begin to divest themselves of their acceptance of traditional belief. They could change the nature of their own discourse, further contributing to new dialogue.
- Foucault argues that the most credible persons to articulate a vision that challenges an episteme are the members of the community affected by it. Adapting this concept, not only are policy makers well placed to argue the value of study abroad, but also faculty from disciplines across the curriculum are also most credible with their own disciplinary colleagues. This observation offers a model for forging policy directly with disciplinary organisations, going beyond inviting input and moving to conduct joint research and projects that result in disseminating new discourse.

An epistemic vision is powerful. It is produced and sustained by everyone within a community. Its

foundations are often forgotten but its empowerment is perpetuated through discourse.

Foucault himself is never clear about how exactly to effect epistemic change, though that is the fundamental goal of his work and philosophy. He most frequently describes an episteme changing abruptly and without precedent. This model portrays change as a volcanic eruption rather than as an evolutionary process. Nor does the model encompass within it room for planned action to modify the episteme.

Further, Foucault provides no guidelines for how to address a discourse to a group who would lose at least some of its own authority were it to accept a change in an episteme that might modify its existing validation. Nonetheless, he does suggest that transformation of an episteme is possible, accomplished through the introduction of new discourse.

This perspective on epistemic mutation has prompted the approach offered here as a method for study abroad advocates to develop policy which could be met with greater acceptance. It enhances the opportunity for these advocates to see their goals realised. This approach offers methods that might achieve change, not through proclamation or prescription but rather through changing the episteme that invalidates education abroad

by contributing to a new discourse field out of which new conceptions can emerge.

Sources for new discourse can extend beyond those described in this thesis. Future research about study abroad can open up avenues of new discourse and illuminate further what factors might contribute to or inhibit change as new discourse emerges.

Future Research

Future research about study abroad programming in U.S. higher education could also open up the possibilities of the conditions for the emergence of this new discourse, helping to understand how some of the traditional beliefs about study abroad might be reconstituted.

Adapting Foucault's theory of discourse in this thesis to explore the marginalisation of study abroad has established a foundation for understanding study abroad's insignificant role in American higher education and techniques for developing and disseminating policy discourse to more effectively address goals for its growth. At the same time this methodology imposes constraints upon the work of this thesis, requiring the researcher to follow the discourses that illustrate beliefs about study abroad. Topics present themselves that are somewhat peripheral to the purpose of this

thesis but useful for a broader understanding of the role of study abroad, and these are the topics that may be regarded as arenas for future research. Such topics include a newly emerging issue, the impact of the global communications technologies on international education; study about male participation in foreign study; analysis of conceptions about the cultural content of the foreign study curriculum; and an evaluation about how goals for international peace are understood.

Two common strands are present in these topics. First is the problem of securing documentary evidence for research. Second is the possibility for exploring values and issues that might be shared between those who are the advocates of study abroad and the members of the larger academy who are suspicious of it.

One limitation to future research, especially that grounded in historic contextualisation, is the lack of material chronicling study abroad programme development. This problem was identified early on in this research. No comprehensive history of the development of study abroad in the United States has been completed to date.⁷² While the marginalisation of overseas education has likely played a role in discouraging research about it, a serious impediment remains, in that programme records have been infrequently archived.

Nonetheless, it is possible to develop a documentary field for investigation. For example, some representative programme documentation can be collected, either through library archives or private programme collections (the University of Delaware/Sweet Briar programme resources serve as examples in this thesis). Individual programmes, where material is often disorganised and uncatalogued, often offer a wealth of materials, which can be organised and evaluated by a researcher (exemplified in this research by the development of enrollment data from the Council on International Educational Exchange). Programme directors can work with researchers to organise and disseminate surveys or adapt their surveys to collect relevant research data (the Sweet Briar survey completed for this thesis, the CIEE Baseline Survey, and CIEE Darden Survey, both done in conjunction with this researcher, are examples). Through further development of historical materials significant topics, including those suggested by this study, can be fully evaluated.

This problem may be less an issue for those interested in the consequences of global information technologies for study abroad, though the existence of this problem should draw attention to the need to begin archiving contemporary material for any type of future research.

A second common theme in these suggestions for future research is the possibility that there may be commonly shared ideals and commonly identified needs between those who have exercised the traditional discourse in the academy and those who represent the alternative discourses. For example, both groups are concerned with the implications of globalisation upon the higher education curriculum.⁷³ Both may be concerned, today, about gender issues in education.⁷⁴ Joint research might be encouraged in arenas such as culture study, an emerging topic for discussion among domestic educators (described below), and a curricular core for study abroad. Culture study itself is inter-connected today with issues about globalisation,⁷⁵ as both are inter-linked with issues pertaining to international peace.

Each of these suggested areas for research could open up the possibility of a common foundation of discourse upon which to build a new dialogue about the validity of abroad. Identifying shared interest carries with it the potential to identify faculty in many of the academic disciplines who might advocate study abroad to their own constituencies.

Turning to these topics for further research, one perhaps the least dependent on documentary material, but among the most complex, is the impact upon the valuation

of study abroad which may occur through the rapid and pervasive development of global communications systems. Marshall McLuhan described a 'global village'⁷⁶ -- a world so inter-connected because of communications technologies that everyone knows and responds to what everyone else is doing. His book *War and Peace in the Global Village* raises the question of the impact of electronic media on how individuals see themselves in the world and the social, political, and economic implications of growing global awareness and interaction.⁷⁷ At the end of the century, Manuel Castells published his trilogy, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*,⁷⁸ synthesizing his research on the impact of global communications and cyberspace on the social, political, economic, cultural, and developmental issues of the new millennium. These and other writers articulate a vision which compels attention to issues and events outside national boundaries. In the spring of 2000, U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley spoke publicly about the demands upon education to address 'a world without walls,' calling for increased attention to study abroad among higher education institutions.⁷⁹

How this attention should be directed is a question among educators.⁸⁰ The growing academic literature expressing concern about this compelling need to explore the implications of international communication carries

with it a possible impact on how study abroad is perceived, potentially opening up a new arena of discourse in support of goals currently advocated by study abroad's policy advocates. Globalisation issues and their relationship to both the history and the future development of study abroad therefore present themselves as arenas for investigation.

At the same time, concern is now being expressed about the new technologies, especially the Internet, which raises questions about the purpose for going abroad at all. As this thesis has described, study abroad has often been valued in the alternative discourse because it facilitates cultural immersion -- the longer the stay, the better the value. In contrast, the Internet allows instantaneous verbal and visual international communication, though certainly not cultural immersion. Commentary on the impact of the Internet on study abroad is just emerging in the discourse⁸¹ and should prove a rich field for inquiry.

This newly emerging literature of globalisation has the potential to contribute new discourse about study abroad. Topics of less recent origin, more dependent on documentary evidence which might be developed about study abroad, may also contribute to understanding the conditions underlying potential epistemic change.

For example, because the discourse identified women as the primary participants in programmes and revealed their presence as pivotal in the formation of traditional beliefs, the documentary materials developed in this thesis supported the study of their conceptions about why they studied overseas. Some materials are available and others could be developed to explore male conceptions of study abroad as well. Men do study abroad, representing roughly one-third of all participants from the start of modern programme development after World War I to the present.⁸² Discourse reveals no suspicion about male purposes for study abroad, nor does it reveal substantial discussion about male purposes for seeking education overseas. Male students seem to have been accepted in their choice of study abroad without denigration of their goals or purposes.⁸³ Their presence has not prevented the damaging episteme from emerging. The episteme is composed of traditional beliefs that devalue women. Sustained by their presence, it takes no notice of men.

Questions such as these are suggested by research in this study: Why do men go abroad? How do they identify their role in a female-dominated educational setting? Do men see study abroad as career-directed, as women conceive it to be for themselves? Why do so many men choose domestic education over foreign opportunities? Understanding male motivations for choosing (or not

choosing) to pursue study abroad and understanding male outcomes from the experience would add to the body of knowledge by illuminating an as yet unheard alternative discourse.

Beliefs about gender contributed to the discourse formation, producing traditional beliefs about the function of study abroad. These beliefs have devalued the liberal curriculum studied overseas as a trivialised cultural exploration and have defined study abroad as devoid of significant function.

The issue of the purpose for study in the liberal curriculum arises in both the traditional and the alternative discourses about study abroad. Alternative discourse holds the liberal curriculum to be an avenue for professional development, especially for women. Women's careers have been grounded in liberal studies, including during the first part of the twentieth century, when they were excluded from the emerging professional disciplines. Traditional discourse demeans the liberal curriculum, intimating that its pursuit through study abroad represents an education providing leisurely cultural acquisition. Neither discourse, however, addresses the issue of cultural study head on, and questions about the role and perceived value of culture education represent another promising avenue for future research.

Only occasionally does traditional discourse give respect to culture education. American women have been granted a modicum of respect in their training as 'cultural guardians,'⁸⁴ though this role has always been perceived as secondary in importance to that played by men whose education trained them for a professional life, as this thesis has discussed. When considering the study of culture for its own sake,⁸⁵ both traditional and alternative discourses reflect disregard. While artistic, literary, and upper-class social groups expressed admiration for European culture, as described in Chapter Three, this admiration fed suspicions about its study. No academic discourse posits an alternative value for culture education aside from the marginalised guardian role. Only passing commentary, even in the alternative discourse, articulates any inherent academic value in the study of culture *per se*.⁸⁶

This situation warrants further research in several different directions. Research about course development and content in study abroad's liberal arts curriculum, research into the cultural components of courses outside the liberal arts, and research into the non-academic but structured components of programmes designed to explore culture would further understanding of the values attached to culture study in foreign education programming. Why do the alternative discourses so

infrequently address, in depth, the academic value for cultural study? Have traditional beliefs devaluing that study constrained their vision or intimidated their expression? What does it mean to the faculty and student participants in study abroad to be 'exposed to,' 'learn about,' be 'immersed in,' or 'understand' another culture? These terms, frequently used in study abroad discourse, go undefined. Indeed, what constitutes culture itself most often goes undescribed. Since the core of the study abroad experience is experientially and academically grounded in cultural education, this is a useful topic for future investigation.

Some of the same terms used in the discourse to describe the cultural experience are also used in the alternative discourses to define study abroad as an avenue to international peace. Passing references in the discourse of faculty and administrators suggest that cultural learning through study abroad might increase 'international understanding' -- a concept no more concretely defined in the discourse than culture education.⁸⁷

From the inception of modern programming⁸⁸ and increasingly after World War II,⁸⁹ programme sponsors have made statements expressing their intentions to contribute to international understanding, cooperation, and peace. The first programme bulletin for Sweet Briar College's

Junior Year in France programme described the responsibility colleges have to help establish 'lasting peace.'⁹⁰ In the latter part of the twentieth century, these goals continued to be expressed, most often linked to general ideals such as 'training citizens to function effectively in a global society.'⁹¹

These goals have been articulated since World War I, yet they have infrequently been explained, though they have often linked in the discourse to professional training. In some cases, such as in the discourse of the University of Delaware programme founders, they have been stated as part of a programme planned to train professionally proficient citizens. In other cases, they have been articulated by faculty who themselves chose study abroad and then pursued professional lives, exemplified by President Martha Lucas of Sweet Briar College.⁹² Links between the desires to work for international peace and to gain professional training through study abroad are implied, but programme or policy literature rarely expands on these concepts to show how study abroad can contribute. Since international peace and understanding are still frequently articulated as purposes for supporting study abroad, future research might well investigate what these goals mean in the discourse, both to those expressing them and to those receiving them, and how these goals might best be

implemented. Likewise research should continue on the question of how students conceive of this purpose for their foreign education.

Additional research on these topics -- global information technologies and the impact of web-based communication, male participation, culture study, and international peace -- can further enhance the evaluation of policy discourse, seeking to comprehend not only its past impact but also its future potential. Encouraging the collection of documentary materials about past study abroad development and archiving of materials developed today can establish a foundation for scholarly research. Finally, identifying and articulating shared interests, concerns, and values within these topics and among all in the academy -- domestic educators and their peers who advocate study abroad -- opens up the possibility for a new foundation of common interest in the discourse. Together, opportunities for new discourse are present in these research activities.

These opportunities can contribute to the possibility that new approaches to policy formulation and dissemination will enhance the potential for policy makers to achieve greater acceptance of their recommendations. An evaluation of their policy statements has been the work of this chapter. This evaluation illustrates that policy is received by the

community that marginalises study abroad, so generating support is difficult. Traditional beliefs are part of the content of policy discourse itself, unintentionally helping to perpetuate the episteme underlying the problems policy is designed to solve. This analysis has led to the recommended new approaches to policy formation and dissemination described in this chapter, including utilising archaeological and genealogical research models and conducting cross-disciplinary research projects.

The inquiry undertaken in this thesis suggests that study abroad advocates should do more than prescribe change to the academy if they hope to be successful in implementing their goals. To create an audience that is willing to hear and engage in policy dialogue and open to validating the practice of study abroad, this thesis suggests policy makers should engage in acts of transformation.

For Foucault, research is a call to action and transformation is the purpose of inquiry. The argument made here is that policy makers have the greatest opportunity to reform how foreign education is valued and utilised within the American academy by contributing to the discursive conditions required for epistemic change.

Conclusion

While the potential exists to open up the possibilities for the emergence of new discourse, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, study abroad in American education continues as a marginal endeavour. Over 98 percent of American students complete their educations entirely in domestic settings, despite a quarter century of efforts to change this pattern.

This thesis has sought explanations for this practice, by adapting the perspective of Michel Foucault to an analysis of academic discourse, seeking fields of discourse that illustrate the formation, through mutually reinforcing traditional beliefs, of a powerful definition -- the episteme -- that devalues American undergraduate study abroad as academically weak and without functional value, most especially with regard to training students for their professional roles in American society.

Through this analysis, alternative discourses have been identified -- discourses by the faculty and administrators who have supported study abroad for their students, and discourses by the students who have pursued it. These discourses describe a different, if ignored, episteme, one that posits academic strength and functional value for study abroad. The alternative discourses have perceived study abroad to offer professional preparation and citizenship training. For

them, study abroad is perceived to be at the heart of the America's educational mission.

This inquiry has revealed in the discourse insight into the benefits of and weaknesses of a Foucaultian adaptation for policy research. And through the adaptation of Foucault's perspective, the thesis has revealed new information about the existence and evolution of beliefs about study abroad through its discourses and practices:

- Adapting Foucault's theory of discourse has permitted this inquiry to identify that clichés about study abroad, articulated in a variety of sources and settings as described in Chapter One, are not only clichés but also a coherent and powerful discourse which defines the worth and value of study abroad, marginalises its advocates, and validates the worth of domestic education over that pursued abroad.
- Foucault's description of alternative discourses has facilitated an analysis of discourses that have revealed alternative beliefs about foreign education. Study abroad has been valued and consistently practiced by women -- in a ratio of 3:2 -- despite changes

in format, duration, location, content, cost, and support from diverse institutions. The discourse of female students has revealed that their pursuit of the maligned liberal curriculum often matched their uses of it domestically -- as an academic avenue for career preparation. They, and the faculty who supported them, have envisioned the education they attain abroad to be unique, unavailable in the United States, and of the highest academic quality. The faculty and administrators who supported this study have consistently identified women as a group worthy of the best education that could be provided by American institutions, advocating for women a form of education perceived as challenging academically, appropriate for career preparation, and a training ground for citizens capable of contributing to possibilities for peace. Finally, these faculty have been willing to express positions deemed marginal and invalid by so many of their peers.

- While Foucault's theory of discourse has facilitated in this thesis an analysis of a marginalising episteme and the existence of an

alternative one, Foucault's theory of transformation is weak⁹³ and imposes limits on the extent to which policy formulation recommendations might be made. Foucault introduces the idea that through new discourse change can occur, described in Chapter Two of the thesis. However, nowhere in his literature is he explicit about how this might come about. Though he sees inquiry as a call to action, his own theory leaves open the possibility that, even with new discourse, the existing episteme might exert such power that new discourse will remain unheard or unrespected. Further, even should new discourse succeed in capturing the interest and attention of the community, nothing in his theory would explain why a particular alternative episteme might arise. New discourse is 'a throw of the dice' -- it introduces new ideas without any guarantee of how they will form through discourse or the associations which might accrue to them. Therefore, there is no way to predict what new episteme might emerge.

- Despite these limitations, Foucault's theory does make a unique contribution to this

research: His perspective suggests that the solution to study abroad's marginalisation might be found in the very discourse that has helped create its minimised role in the academy. Foucault argues that new discourse is the means for creating conditions that can prompt epistemic change, including discourse that exposes the temporal foundations of the existing beliefs as well as the illumination of alternative discourses. This theory of transformation frames the new modes of policy formulation and dissemination suggested in this thesis. If not guaranteeing policy makers that they will meet with acceptance, validation, and success, approaches to policy discourse grounded in this concept of transformation do offer the opportunity for policy to address consciously and directly the beliefs which have marginalised study abroad.

- Foucault's concept that it is the members of a group who have the greatest possibility for contributing new discourse has led in this thesis to the recommendations for joint and future research. Topics of interest shared between those who are study abroad advocates

within the academy and those who are not might forge not only a common set of interests but also the possibility for identifying new advocates, outside the study abroad field, to argue within their own disciplinary groups for the value of study abroad. Most particularly the growing literature expressing interest in and concern for globalisation as a topic worthy of study by many disciplines within the American academy is a shared interest with those in the alternative discourses, from the inception of modern study abroad to the present, who have sought to develop study abroad programs to ensure students would receive education enabling them to be globally competent in an interdependent world.

Adapting Foucault for the inquiry of this thesis has provided insight into why study abroad policy is devalued and how respect for policy might be enhanced. Policy formation that continues to prescribe change is likely to be met with continued resistance, since the prevailing episteme marginalises and devalues study abroad. Within the discourse itself -- the discourse that has devalued study abroad -- lies the possibility that foreign education might come to be understood as a central and

worthwhile form of education meeting the needs and goals of American educators.

With that change, the potential for policy to be considered and implemented grows. Faculty and administrators who support study abroad can hope to be empowered. Student participants, especially the women, can hope to gain respect for having chosen to study abroad.

Endnotes, Chapter Five

1. Calculations based on data in Todd Davis, ed., *Open Doors 1996/97: Report on International Exchange* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1997), 2, 136. Also see Chapter One of this thesis.
2. Michel Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984*, trans. Alan Sheridan et al., ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), 155.
3. Ibid.
4. J. G. Merquior, *Foucault* (London: Fontana Modern Masters, Fontana Press/HarperCollins, 1991), 35.
5. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1970), 50. Also see Chapter Two of this thesis.
6. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault says beliefs can undergo transformation through changes in discursive practices. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, tr. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 209.
7. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 16, 192; Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, tr. A. M. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), xix. See also Foucault, *Archaeology*, 172-173; Foucault, *Order of Things*, 31; Foucault; Michel Foucault, "Intellectuals and Power," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Donald F. Bouchard, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 207-208; and "Truth and Power" in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, Colin Gordon, ed. (New York: Random House, 1980), 126-133.
8. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 16; Ralph Cohen, interview, 1 September 1999; Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture*, 14.
9. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 186-187.
10. Foucault, *Order of Things*, xxii.
11. Chapter One defined 'policy makers' as a term referring to authors of one or more of the reports identified as 'policy statements' in this thesis. These were defined as the publications analysing the status of international education, including study abroad, and making recommendations about its future development. Included in the term 'policy statements' are those reports commissioned by either federal or state governmental agencies and/or by higher education or international education agencies with membership from across the entire American higher education community.
12. See Appendix D, *Educating For Global Competence: Advisory Council Members*, and Appendix E, *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task*, Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad, May 1990. For example, Ms. Archer

Brown, Deputy Director of NAFSA: Association of International Education, was a study abroad alumnus.

13. Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture*, 14.
14. Foucault, *Discipline*, 218-227; G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Hemel, Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 79; Michel Foucault, *Technologies of the Self*, ed. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 19; and Foucault, *Order of Things*, 170.
15. Foucault, *Order of Things*, xxii; Cohen, interview.
16. See Appendix D.
17. See Appendix E.
18. *Educating for Global Competence*, 9.
19. *A National Mandate* 1990, 2.
20. *Ibid.*, 13.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Richard D. Lambert, "Study Abroad: Where We Are, Where We Should Be," in *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference on International Educational Exchange* (Cannes, France, November 1988), 14.
23. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 52.
24. *Ibid.*, 39.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *A National Mandate*, 2.
27. *Educating for Global Competence*, 8.
28. *A National Mandate* 1990, 2.
29. *Ibid.*, 8; emphasis added.
30. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 39.
31. M. Archer Brown, "U.S. Students Abroad," in Hugh M. Jenkins and Associates, *Educating Students from Other Nations* (San Francisco, Washington, London: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1983), 74.
32. *Educating for Global Competence*, 9.
33. *A National Mandate*, 2.
34. Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 263, 266-267.
35. *A National Mandate*, 15.
36. *Ibid.*, 3.
37. *Ibid.*, 4.

-
38. Ibid., 12.
 39. Ibid., 10
 40. *Educating for Global Competence*, 8.
 41. Ibid., 14.
 42. *A National Mandate*, 4.
 43. Ibid., 10.
 44. Roger P. Mourad, Jr., *Postmodern Philosophical Critique and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Higher Education*, Henry A. Giroux, ed. (Westport, Conn., and London: Bergin and Garvey, 1997), 61.
 45. Foucault, "Intellectuals and Power," 180-194.
 46. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 2: Uses of Pleasure*, translated by Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 8; Foucault, *Archaeology*, 16.
 47. *Educating for Global Competence*, 17.
 48. Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture*, 155.
 49. Michel Foucault, "Body/Power," in *Power/Knowledge*, 159.
 50. Ibid., 212.
 51. Martin Trow, "American Higher Education: Past, Present, and Future," in Lester F. Goodchild and Harold S. Wechsler, eds., *ASHE Reader on the History of Higher Education* (Needham Heights, Mass.: Ginn Press, 1989), 618.
 52. John S. Brubacher, *On the Philosophy of Higher Education* (San Francisco and London: Jossey-Bass Series in Higher Education, 1977), 26-27. "To apply this autonomy to a sample of practices in higher education, it seems to follow logically that the faculty should have broad control over the academic program," writes Brubacher. This autonomy remains important (ibid., 29) though imperfect and not unchallenged by the influence of powers outside the university. See Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 25-26.
 53. *A National Mandate*, 17. The report encourages national organisations concerned with study abroad to ally with other organisations, to ensure that education abroad is placed visibly on the academic agenda. It urges the objective "to convince officials at the state level that study abroad is an integral and valuable part of higher education" (ibid.). Finally, the report suggests that individual institutional strategies must also push hard.
 54. Ibid., 18; emphasis in the original.
 55. *Educating for Global Competence*, vii.
 56. Ibid., 15.
 57. Hoffa 1995.

-
58. Barbara B. Burn and Ralph H. Smuckler, *A Research Agenda for the Internationalization of Higher Education in the United States: Recommendations and Report* (New York: Association of International Education Administrators, 1995).
59. Margaret Kidd (past president of Association of International Education Administrators [AIEA]), e-mail correspondence, 13 April 1998.
60. Ned Quigley, interview, 8 June 1998.
61. Ibid.
62. Janet Grunwald, interview, 19 June 1998; Joann McCarthy, interview, 9 June 1998.
63. As of November 1999, membership included the Association of International Education Administrators, the Canadian Bureau for International Education, the European Association for International Education, Education Australia, NAFSA: Association of International Educators, the Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education, the Council for International Education (United Kingdom), World Education Services, and CIEE.
64. Council on International Educational Exchange, "Association for Studies in International Education (ASIE)," document distributed during 54th Annual CIEE Conference (11-15 November 1999, Chicago, Illinois). "The initial objective and primary focus of this cooperation of the Association in fulfillment of this mission is the publication and distribution of the *Journal*" (ibid.).
65. Kidd, e-mail correspondence.
66. Ann Kelleher, with Lance Schachterle and Francis C. Lutz, co-eds., *Learning from Success: Campus Case Studies in International Program Development* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 417. Kelleher notes that her research reinforces similar findings by Joseph S. Johnston, Jr., and Richard J. Edelstein in *Beyond Borders: Profiles in International Education* (Washington: Association of American Colleges, 1993), whose final chapter argues that one of the most important factors in building successful programmes is to engage faculty.
67. Ibid.
68. See Task Force and Sounding Board Organizations in *A National Mandate*, Appendix E.
69. Foucault, *Archaeology*, 3-17.
70. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 2: Uses of Pleasure* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 8.
71. Garth Gillan, "Foucault's Philosophy," in James Bernauer and David Rasmussen, eds., *The Final Foucault* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1988), 36.
72. Efforts are ongoing currently, supported by NAFSA: the Association of International Educators, to produce a history of study abroad through a collection of documents, voluntarily donated, with

information about existing study abroad programmes (William Hoffa, e-mail correspondence, 10 January 2000).

73. This thesis has described as a persistent theme articulated in advocacy and alternative discourses the need to train students to be globally competent. Contemporary academic literature reflects the concerns of domestic educators about how the American curriculum approaches issues of globalisation. For example, see Castells, Manuel (editor), Ramon Flecha, Paulo Freire, Henry A. Giroux, Peter McLaren, *Critical Education in the New Information Age*, Critical Perspectives Series (Maryland: University Press of America, 1999).

74. See, for example, Elizabeth A. Duffy, with Idana Goldberg, *Crafting a Class: College Admissions and Financial Aid, 1955-1994* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Ann Diller, with Maryann Ayim and Kathryn Morgan, *The Gender Question in Education: Theory, Pedagogy, and Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996); Judith Glazer-Raymo, *Shattering the Myths: Women in Academe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); American Association of University Women, *How Schools Shortchanges Girls* (Washington: AAUW Educational Foundation, National Education Association, 1992); and Sheena Erskine and Maggie Wilson, eds., *Gender Issues in International Education: Beyond Policy and Practice*, vol. 1162, Garland Reference Library of Social Science (New York: Falmer Press, 1999). Erskine and Wilson's publication is a study in cross-cultural gender and education issues.

75. University of California/Berkeley Professor, Manuel Castells published a trilogy connecting the issues of globalisation, culture, politics, and economics: Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture: Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); *Volume II: The Power of Identity* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997); *Volume III: End of the Millennium* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

76. Marshall McLuhan and Bruce R. Powers, *The Global Village: Transformation in the World Life and Media in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). See also Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, produced by Jerome Gael, *The Medium is the Massage* (New York: Touchstone, 1989, 1967).

77. Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, coordinated by Jerome Agel, *War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations that could be Eliminated by more Feedforward* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).

78. Castells, *Information Age*. Castells argues that scholarly research is capable of illuminating and addressing the fundamental issues of a contemporary existence markedly transformed by the presence of global information.

79. Richard W. Riley, "The Growing Importance of International Education," a speech presented at La Maison Francaise, Washington, D.C., 19 April 2000. Reported on the Department of Education website, <http://www.ed.gov/Speeches/04-2000/000419.html>

80. For example, see Castells, *Critical Education in the New Information Age*, a compilation of somewhat disparate articles approaching issues of information technology in relationship to education from a variety of positions. These essays were written prior to Castell's trilogy.

81. Hans Peter Jensen, President of Denmark's Technical University; Helle Gjerlufsen, Field Director, Denmark's International Study Programme; and William W. Anthony, Director, Office of Study Abroad, Northwestern University, interview, 11 November 1999.

82. See Chapter Three.

83. See, for example, displayed in Chapter Four, Table 4.14, Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 1: Intentions for Graduate Study, Professional Study, or a Career; and Table 4.16, Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Questions 3 and 5: Change in or Direct Connection to Graduate Study, Professional Study, or Career Goals. In answer to Question 1, 90 percent of male participants said they hoped to work after college. The Sweet Briar survey also revealed men were less frequently questioned by faculty advisors about their intent, though differences were not great (see Appendix A, Table 3.10). Question 5 of the Sweet Briar Alumni Survey revealed that a majority of women (52 percent) but a slightly smaller proportion of men (46 percent) viewed their study abroad experience as directly connected to their later work.

84. Briggs and Burn, *Study Abroad*, 39.

85. There is a growing literature outside international education seeking understanding of and advocating on behalf of culture study, which might serve as a foundation for beginning this analysis. Examples include E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), and Michael Peters, ed., *After the Disciplines: The Emergence of Cultural Studies* (Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1999).

86. See Chapter Four. See also W. F. Hull, W. H. Lemke, and R. T. Houang, "Introduction" in *The American Undergraduate, Off Campus and Overseas: A Study of the Educational Validity of Such Programs* (New York: CIEE, 1977); and John A. Wallace, "Characteristics of Programs for Study Abroad," *Journal of General Education* 13:4 (January 1962), 255.

87. Literature about peace and cross-cultural issues does not include discourse about study abroad programmes. For example, see John Paul Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996), and Elise Boulding, *Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990). The subject of peace studies is emerging within the discourse about study abroad but is identified as a series of courses rather than part of the general experience. For example, see Sara J. Steen, editor, *Academic Year Abroad 1997/98* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1996), where out of 2430 listed programmes, 21 were identified as peace studies.

88. Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 263.

89. Francis M. Rogers, *American Juniors on the Left Bank* (Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1958), 12; Martha Lou Lemmon Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College* (Sweet Briar, Va.: Alumnae Association of Sweet Briar College, 1956), 198-205.

90. Sweet Briar College, *Bulletin for Junior Year in France* (February 1948).

91. For example, see Council for International Educational Exchange, *Annual Report 94-95* (New York: CIEE, 1995).

92. See, for example, Martha Lucas, President of Sweet Briar College (Emile Langlois, unpublished manuscript for panel presentation at NAFSA conference, Region VII and IX, 16 November 1990).

93. Merquior, *Foucault*, 32-42.

Bibliography

Allaway, William H., and Hallam C. Shorrock. *Dimensions of International Higher Education*. The University of California Symposium on International Education Abroad. Boulder and London: Westview Special Studies in Education, 1985.

Allen, Henry J. *Student Magellan*. New York: Stanley D. Woodard, 1927.

Altbach, Philip G., and Hans deWit. "International Higher Education: America Abdicates Leadership." *International Higher Education*, Journal of the Boston College Center for International Higher Education, 1995.

"American Assistants in French Lycees." *School and Society* 18 (25 October 1923).

American Association of University Women. *How Schools Shortchange Girls*. Washington: AAUW Educational Foundation, National Education Association, 1992.

American Council on Education. *Campus Trends*, 1986. Higher Education Panel Report No. 73 (August 1986).

American Council on Education. *What We Can't Say Can Hurt Us: A Call for Foreign Language Competence by the Year 2000*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1989.

American Council on Education. *Educating Americans for a World in Flux: Ten Ground Rules for Internationalizing Higher Education*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1995.

"American German Student Exchange Fellowships." *School and Society* 21 (10 June 1925).

Arnold, David. Interview, 15 October 1990.

Arthur, Sister Rita. Interview, 6 August 1997.

Ayres, H. Fairfax III, Andrea Brennan, Michael Clancy, Timothy Cronin, John Druitt, Julie Gibbons, Lois Lynch, Kevin Marks, Debra Stinchfield, Kathryn Young; James Rubin, faculty advisor; Christopher Gale, project supervisor. "CIEE Market Study: Motivations for Study Abroad." Charlottesville, Va.: Darden School of Graduate Business Studies, University of Virginia, May 1996.

Ball, S. J., editor. *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge*. London: Routledge, 1990.

Barber, Elinor G., and Barbara B. Burn, editors. "Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates in Western Europe and in the United States." Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1990.

Barker, Philip. *Michel Foucault, An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

Barnett, Vincent M., Jr., editor. *The Representation of the United States Abroad*, revised edition. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965.

Barron's. *Profiles of American Colleges*, 22nd edition. Hauppauge, N.Y.: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1997.

Barzun, Jacques. *Teacher in America*. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954.

Battle, Edward. Interview, July 1993.

Beaver College Admissions Service. Interview, 30 September 1997.

Bernauer, James, and David Rasmussen, editors. *The Final Foucault*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: The MIT Press, 1988.

Biesta, Gert J. J. "Pedagogy Without Humanism: Foucault and the Subject of Education." *A Quarterly Review of Education* 29, 1 (1998). Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Blankenship, Edward. Director of the Office of International Education, California State University, Long Beach, California. Interviews, April 1989.

Blitz, Rudolph C. "Women in the Professions, 1870-1970." *Monthly Labor Review*, no. 5 (May 1974).

Booth, Jon. Interview, 12 May 1997.

Boulding, Elise. *Building a Global Civic Culture : Education for an Interdependent World*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990.

Bowman, John E. *Educating American Undergraduates Abroad: The Development of Study Abroad Programs by American*

Colleges and Universities. CIEE Occasional Papers, series no. 24 (1987).

Boyer, Ernest L., and Fred M. Hechinger. *Higher Learning in the Nation's Service*. Washington: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1981.

Brecht, Richard D., and Jennifer L. Robinson. "Qualitative Analysis of Second Language Acquisition in Study Abroad: The ACTR-NFLC Project." National Foreign Language Center and University of Maryland, 1993.

Briggs, Asa, and Barbara Burn. *Study Abroad: A European and an American Perspective, Organization and Impact of Study Abroad*. No. 1, European Institute of Education and Social Policy (Paris, 1985).

Brooks, David. "Yanks go home, Europe's a bore." *The Sunday Times*. 7 July 1996, section 3, page 9.

Brown, Jean F. Director of the University of Delaware Archives. Interview, 7 February 1994.

Brown, M. Archer. "U.S. Students Abroad." In Hugh M. Jenkins and Associates, *Educating Students from Other Nations*. San Francisco, Washington, London: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1983.

Brubacher, John S. *On the Philosophy of Higher Education*. San Francisco and London: Jossey-Bass Series in Higher Education, 1977.

Brubacher, John S., and Willis Rudy. *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc, 1976. Reprinted in Wechsler, Harold S., and Lester F. Goodchild. *ASHE Reader on the History of Higher Education*. New York: Ginn Press, 1989.

Brubacher, John S., and Willis Rudy. *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities*. 4th edition, with new chapters by Willis Rudy. New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Transaction Publishers, 1997.

Bulletin of the University of Delaware. Vol. XXVI, new series, no. 6 (November 1931).

BUNAC (British University's North America Club). *Work in Britain*. Programme Handbook, 1994.

Burchell, G., C. Gordon, and P. Miller. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Hemel, Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.

Burn, Barbara. *Expanding the International Dimensions of Higher Education*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.

Burn, Barbara. "Strength through Wisdom: The Report of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies." *Independent School* 40, 1 (October 1980).

Burn, Barbara. "Progress Report: Education Abroad in the 1990s, Are We Moving in the Right Direction?" *Transitions Abroad* 17, no. 2 (September/October 1993).

Burn, Barbara B., and Ralph H. Smuckler. *A Research Agenda for the Internationalization of Higher Education in the United States: Recommendations and Report*. New York: Association of International Education Administrators, 1995.

Byam, Edwin C. Letter to alumni, 26 January 1933. University of Delaware Archives, Alumni Questionnaire, AR 97, Folder 1639, "Delfor."

Carlson, J. S., B. B. Burn, J. Useem, and D. Yachimowicz. *Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates in Western Europe and in the United States*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Castells, Manuel. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Vol. I: The Rise of the Network Society*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Castells, Manuel. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Vol. II: The Power of Identity*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1997.

Castells, Manuel. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Vol. III: End of the Millennium*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

Castells, Manuel (editor), Ramon Flecha, Paulo Freire, Henry A. Giroux, and Peter McLaren. *Critical Education in the New Information Age* (Critical Perspectives Series). Maryland: University Press of America, 1999.

Cattanès, Helene. *Vers d'autres horizons, Memento de l'année en France*. New York/Paris: Association of Former Juniors in France of Smith College, 1965.

Chancey, Edward. *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and "The Voyage of Italy" in the Seventeenth Century*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1985.

Chandler, Alice. *Paying the Bill for International Education: Programs, Partners, and Possibilities at the Millennium*. NAFSA Newsletter, May/June 1999.

Clayton, John M., Jr. *Foreign Study Plan Records, 1922-1948: An Inventory*. University of Delaware Archives, 16 March 1970.

Cleveland, Harlan, Gerard J. Mangone, and John Clarke Adams. *The Overseas Americans*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1960.

Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies (CAFLIS). *Reforming Education for the International Century*. Washington: CAFLIS, 1989.

College Facts. Annual chart, 37th edition, 1992-93. Spartanburg, S.C.: National Beta Club, 1992.

Cohen, Ralph. Interview, 1 September 1999.

"The College Cruise Around the World." University Travel Association, 1928.

Collignon, Jean. "Le programme des études en France." In Helene Cattànès, *Vers d'autres horizons, Memento de l'année en France*. New York/Paris: Association of Former Juniors in France of Smith College, 1965.

Commager, Henry Steele. *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

Conant, James B. "American Remakes the University." In John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, eds., *Higher Education in Transition: History of American Colleges and Universities*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1976. Reprinted from *Atlantic Monthly* (May 1946).

Cooper, Stephen, and Mary Anne Grant. "The Demographics of Education Abroad." In William Hoffa, ed. *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators*. New York: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1993.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Catalog, Cooperative Centers for Study Abroad, 1992-1993*. New York: CIEE, 1992.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Catalog, Cooperative Center for Study Abroad, 1993-1994*. New York: CIEE, 1993.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *About Council*. New York: CIEE, 1993.

Council on International Educational Exchange. Oral History Video Tape, December 1993. Part of CIEE Oral History Series.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Report on Third World Study Abroad Programs*. New York: CIEE, 1993.

Council on International Educational Exchange. Unpublished membership information, provided by Angela Hirsch, executive assistant to the president, July 1993.

Council on International Educational Exchange. "Analyzing the 1991-92 Open Doors Survey: Are We There Yet?" *Council on International Educational Exchange Update*, vol. 16, no. 2 (March 1994).

Council on International Educational Exchange. Oral History Video Tape, November 1994. Part of CIEE Oral History Series.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Study Abroad Information for Faculty*. New York: CIEE, 1994.

Council on International Educational Exchange. CIEE International Business Consortium Enrollment Data, 1994.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Annual Report 94-95*. New York: CIEE, 1995.

Council on International Educational Exchange. CUD Market Report (unpublished internal working document), 1995.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Council Viewbook*. New York: CIEE, 1995.

Council on International Educational Exchange. Membership packet for academic year 1995-96.

Council on International Educational Exchange. Plan for ACB Program Review, Committee on Program Evaluation, Academic Consortium Board. Monterey, California: CIEE, November 1996.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Study Abroad Baseline Survey*. New York: CIEE, 1996.

Council on International Educational Exchange. Unpublished minutes, Academic Consortium Board Meetings. 24-25 April 1996, Paris, France.

Council on International Educational Exchange. Unpublished minutes, Academic Consortium Board Meeting, 9 November 1996, Monterey, California, U.S.

Council on International Educational Exchange. *Study Abroad, Council Study Centers, 1997-1998*. New York: CIEE, 1997.

Council on International Educational Exchange. "Association for Studies in International Education (ASIE)." Document distributed during 54th Annual CIEE Conference, 11-15 November 1999, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.

Cremin, Lawrence A. "College." Excerpted from his book, *American Education: The Colonial Experience* (1970), and reprinted in Goodchild, Lester F., and Harold Wechsler, eds. *ASHE Reader on the History of Higher Education*. Needham Heights, Mass.: Ginn Press/Simon & Schuster, 1989.

Cross, Barbara M. *The Educated Woman in America*. Classics in Education, no. 25. New York: Teachers College Press, 1965.

Curti, Merle E. "Intellectuals and Other People," *American Historical Review* 60 (Jan. 1955). In John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: History of American Colleges and Universities*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1976.

Darvich-Kodjouri, Ketayoun. *International Activity on State College and University Campuses, 1995*. Washington: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1995.

Davis, Mrs. Beatrice F. Interview for the University of Delaware Oral History Project by Myron L. Lazarus, 15 July 1970. University of Delaware Archives, Paris Program Class of 1931, AR 97, 33/1/1.

Davis, Todd, ed. *Open Doors 1995/96: Report on International Exchange*. New York: Institute of International Education, 1996.

Davis, Todd, ed. *Open Doors 1996/97: Report on International Exchange*. New York: Institute of International Education, 1997.

"Delaware Foreign Study Plan on Intercollegiate Basis." *School and Society* 24 (3 July 1926).

Delfor Alumni Association. Committee on Foreign Study Survey, 26 January 1933. AR 97, "Delfor," University of Delaware Archives.

Delfor Alumni Association. Alumni Questionnaire, 1933. AR 97, Folder 1639, "Delfor," University of Delaware Archives.

Delfor Alumni Association. Foreign Study Plan Records, 1922-48. Box H52 (AR 52) (AR 96) Folder 16231, 33/0/8, University of Delaware Archives. Delfor Alumni Address list from Group I, 1923-24, through Group XVII, 1939-40.

Delfor Alumni Directories, 1933-35. University of Delaware Archives, Box 53, AR 97.

"Delforean." Listing of Former Alumni, 1923-36. Unnumbered insert, *Record Book*. University of Delaware Archives, Box 52, AR 96, Folder 1645.

Desruisseaux, Paul. "Lack of Funds Threatens Future of Academic Exchanges, Report Warns." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2 April 1999: A53.

Desruisseaux, Paul. "15% Rise in American Students Abroad Shows Popularity of Non-European Destinations." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 December 1999: A60.

De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*, translated by H. M. Parshley. New York: Vintage Books, 1952, 1974.

De Winter, Urbain. *Overcoming Barriers to Study Abroad. A Report of the New York State Task Force on International Education*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1995.

Diller, Ann, with Maryann Ayin and Kathryn Morgan. *The Gender Question in Education: Theory, Pedagogy, and Politics*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.

Dillman, Don. *Mail and Telephone Surveys: The Total Design Method*. New York: John Wiley, 1978.

Dreyfus, Hubert L., and Paul Rabinow. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Duffy, Elizabeth A., with Idana Goldberg. *Crafting a Class: College Admissions and Financial Aid, 1955-1994*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Dye, Richard W. Testimony presented before the subcommittee on international operations, U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1 August 1990.

Educating Americans for a World in Flux: Ten Ground Rules for Internationalizing Higher Education. 1995. Washington: American Council on Education.

Educating for Global Competence. The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange. New York: Council on International Educational Exchange, August 1988.

"Educational: American Students at Oxford University." *School and Society* 21 (10 June 1925).

Egle, Jack. *Annual Report, Council on International Educational Exchange*. New York: CIEE, 1990.

El-Khawas, E. *Campus Trends*, 1992. Washington: American Council on Education, 1993. Cited in Joan Claffey, *Serving the World: International Activities of American Colleges and Universities*. Washington: Office for University Cooperation in Development, 1993.

Engerman, David C., and Parker G. Marden. *In the International Interest: The Contributions and Needs of America's International Liberal Arts Colleges*. Beloit, Wisconsin: The International Liberal Arts Colleges, 1992.

Erskine, Sheena, and Maggie Wilson, editors. *Gender Issues in International Education: Beyond Policy and Practice* (vol. 1162, Garland Reference Library of Social Science). New York: Falmer Press, 1999.

Feltman, Paul. Interview, New York, 15 February 1995.

Fontana, Jorge. "Disciplinary Points of View: A Science and Technology." In William H. Allaway and Hallam C. Shorrock, *Dimensions of International Higher Education*. The University of California Symposium on Education Abroad. Boulder and London: Westview Special Studies in Education, 1985.

"Foreign Study Scholarships of University of Delaware." *School and Society* 27 (9 June 1928).

Forwood, Madeleine. Interviewed by Myron L. Lazarus for the University of Delaware Oral History Project, 8 July 1970. University of Delaware Archives, Paris Program Class of 1931, AR 97, 33/0/8.

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, translated by Richard Howard. New York: Mentor Books, 1965. Translation of *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*. Paris: Gallimard, 1964.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things*, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Random House, 1970. Translation of *Les Mots et les Choses*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1966.

Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972. Translation of *L'Archéologie du Savoir*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1969.

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: The History of Insanity in the Age of Unreason*, translated by Richard Howard. New York: Pantheon Books, 1973.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish*, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977. Translation of *Surveiller et Punir; Naissance de la Prison*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1975.

Foucault, Michel. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, edited by Donald F. Bouchard. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, translated by A. M. Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1: An introduction*, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Foucault, Michel. "Body/Power." In Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Random House 1980.

Foucault, Michel. "Omnes et Singulatim: Toward a Criticism of 'Political Reason.'" In the Tanner Lectures of Human Values, II. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press/Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power." Afterword in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Foucault, Michel. "What is Enlightenment?" In Paul Rabinow, ed. *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

Foucault, Michel. "Space, Knowledge and Power." In Paul Rabinow, ed. *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 2: Uses of Pleasure*, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Foucault, Michel. *Death and Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel*, translated by Charles Roas. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1986.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 3: Care of the Self*, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Random House, 1986.

Foucault, Michel. "Governmentality," *Ideology and Consciousness* 6 (Summer 1986).

Foucault, Michel. *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984*, translated by Alan Sheridan et al., edited with an introduction by Lawrence D. Kritzman. New York and London: Routledge, 1988.

Foucault, Michel. *Technologies of the Self*, edited by Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Foucault, Michel. *Résumé des cours, 1980-1982*. Paris: Conférences, essais et leçons du collège de France/Juilliard, 1989.

Foucault, Michel. "The Minimalist Self." In *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984*, edited by Lawrence D. Kritzman. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Foucault, Michel. "Genealogy and Social Criticism," in Steven Seidman, ed. *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Reprinted from Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*:

Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Random House, 1980.

"The Franco-American Student Exchange." *School and Society*. 64 (9 November 1946).

Freeman, Stephen A. *The Middlebury College Foreign Language Schools, 1915-1970*. Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury College Press, 1975.

Garraty, John A., and Walter Adams. *From Main Street to the Left Bank: Students and Scholars Abroad*. East Lansing, Mich.: The Michigan State University Press, 1959.

Gjerlufsen, Helle. Private documents, Denmark International Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Gildersleeve, Virginia C. *Many a Good Crusade: Memoirs of Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1954.

Gillan, Garth. "Foucault's Philosophy." In James Bernauer and David Rasmussen, eds. *The Final Foucault*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: The MIT Press, 1988.

Glazer-Raymo, Judith. *Shattering the Myths: Women in Academe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Goodman, Allan. "Opening Doors and Opening Minds: Why Both Are Needed for the 21st Century." Speech at USIA/ETS Conference on International Education, September 1998. Reprinted in NAFSA Newsletter, January/February 1999.

Goodwin, Craufurd D. Introduction to *U.S. Students Abroad, Statistics on Study Abroad, 1985-86*, Maranthi Zikopoulos, ed. IIE Research Report Number 16. New York: Institute of International Education, 1988.

Goodwin, Craufurd D., and Michael Nacht. *Abroad and Beyond: Patterns in American Overseas Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Goodwin, Craufurd D., and Michael Nacht. *Missing the Boat: The Failure to Internationalize American Higher Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Gordon, Colin, ed. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 by Michel Foucault*. New York: Random House, 1980.

Gore, Joan, Karen Keim (Lehigh University), David Portlock (Lafayette University), and Sara Dumont (Duke University). "Tuition Drain and Financial Strain." Panel presentation at NAFSA: Association of International Educators National Conference, May 1994.

Gough, Harrison G., and William A. McCormack. "An Exploratory Evaluation of Education Abroad." Cooperative Research Project No. S-440. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1967.

Graham, Patricia A. "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3, no. 4 (Summer 1978). Reprinted in Lester F. Goodchild and Harold Wechsler, eds. *ASHE Reader on the History of Higher Education*. Needham Heights, Mass.: Ginn Press/Simon & Schuster, 1989.

Grimes, Sara. 1994. "World Class: The Leading Personality in International Exchange Pulls No Punches." *Massachusetts*, Winter 1994.

Groennings, Sven. *The Impact of Economic Globalization on Higher Education*. Staff Paper Number III, New England Board of Higher Education, Boston, Mass. (1987).

Gruber, Carol S. *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of Higher Learning in America*. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1975.

Grunwald, Janet. Interview, 19 June 1998.

Gwin, Mary Elizabeth Conway. *Study Abroad Advising: Information Delivery and Quality Assessment in Computer-Assisted Advising on Study Abroad Opportunities*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1985.

Gwin, Mary Elizabeth Conway. Interview, 3 June 1992.

Hakim, Hossein, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.. Unpublished letter, 21 May 1993.

Haley, Frances. *Reforming Education for the International Century. Report on the Recommendations and Findings of the Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies: Working Group on State and Local Initiatives*. New York: Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies, 1989.

Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Rise of Universities*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Healey, Joseph F. *Statistics: A Tool for Social Research*, 3rd edition. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993.

Hirsch, E. D., Jr., *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. New York: Vintage Books, 1988.

"Higher Education Associations." American Council on Education, 1996.

Hoffa, William, John Pearson, and Marvin Slind. *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators*. Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1993.

Hoffa, William, and John Pearson. *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators*, 2nd edition. Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1997.

Honeywell, Roy J. *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931.

Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

Hoy, D. C. *Foucault: A Critical Reader*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Hugh M. Jenkins and Associates. *Educating Students from Other Nations*. San Francisco/Washington/London: Jossey-Bass, 1983.

Hull, W. F., W. H. Lemke, and R. T. Houang. *The American Undergraduate, Off Campus and Overseas: A Study of the Educational Validity of Such Programs*. Occasional Papers Series no. 20. New York: CIEE, 1977.

Hullihen, Walter H. "The Delaware Undergraduate Foreign Study Plan, or Junior Year Abroad." Dated 1931. University of Delaware Archives 33/0/5, Box 23 (AR67), folder 537.

Institute of International Education. *Transplanted Students: A Report of the National Conference on*

Undergraduate Study Abroad. New York: Institute of International Education, 1961.

Institute of International Education. *Academic Year Abroad 1992-93*. New York: IIE, 1993.

Institute of International Education. *NSEP: Undergraduate Scholarships for Study Abroad Preparing for the Future*. New York: IIE, 1994.

Institute of International Education. "National Security Education Program, Undergraduate Scholarships, 1994-1995," *Competition Cycle Summary Report*. Washington: IIE, 1995.

Institute of International Education. "Open Doors 1997/98 IIE's Annual Report on International Educational Exchange." Press release, 7 December 1998. URL: www.iie.org/opendoors/od98text.htm

Institute of International Education. URL: <http://www.opendoorsweb.org>

"Institute of International Education & Student Exchange." *School and Society* 28 (14 July 1928).

"International Study." *School and Society* 20 (24 April 1926).

Jenkins, Karen. Interview, 19 November 1998.

Jensen, Hans Peter (President of Denmark's Technical University), Helle Gjerlufsen (Field Director, Denmark's International Study Programme), and William W. Anthony (Director, Office of Study Abroad, Northwestern University). Interview, 11 November 1999.

Johnson, Jerry. Interview, 22 February 1994.

Johnston, Joseph S., Jr. and Richard J. Edelstein. *Beyond Borders: Profiles in International Education*. Washington: Association of American Colleges, 1993.

"Junior Year in Zurich." *School and Society* 66 (12 July 1947).

Jurow, Susan, Kirk D. Beyer, and Management Compensation Services, a Division of Hewitt Associates, LLC. *Administrative Compensation Survey, College and University Personnel Association, 1996-97*. Washington: College and University Personnel Association, 1997.

JYF. Sweet Briar College Junior Year Abroad Alumni Newsletter, 1974-78.

Kauffmann, Norman L., Judith N. Martin, Henry D. Weaver, with Judy Weaver. *Students Abroad, Strangers at Home -- Education for a Global Society*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1992.

Kelleher, Ann, with Lance Schachterle and Francis C. Lutz, co-editors. *Learning from Success: Campus Case Studies in International Program Development*. Vol. 15, Worcester Polytechnic Institute Studies in Science, Technology and Culture. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.

Kerr, Clark. "Introduction." In William H. Allaway and Hallam C. Shorrock, *Dimensions of International Higher Education*. The University of California Symposium on International Education Abroad. Boulder and London: Westview Special Studies in Education, 1985.

Kerr, Clark. *The Uses of the University*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Kirkbride, R. W. Letter to Dr. Walter Hüllihen, President, University of Delaware. 2 March 1923, Paris, France. Provided by Andrew T. Hill, International Programs and Special Sessions Office, University of Delaware.

Koester, Jolene. *A Profile of U.S. Students Abroad -- 1984 and 1985*. New York: Council on International Educational Exchange, 1987.

Lambert, Richard D. "Language Policy: An International Perspective." NFLC Occasional Papers, National Foreign Language Center. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1990.

Lambert, Richard D. *Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies*. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1984.

Lambert, Richard D. "Study Abroad: Where We Are, Where We Should Be." In *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference on International Educational Exchange*, Cannes, France, November 1988.

Lambert, Richard D. *International Studies and the Undergraduate, A Special Report*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1989.

Langlois, Emile. Unpublished manuscript for panel presentation at NAFSA conference, Region VII and IX, 16 November 1990.

Langlois, Emile. Interviews, 17 February 1993 and 25 April 1994.

Langlois, Emile. Unpublished computer analysis and summary of Junior Year in France groups (July 1994), Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.

Langlois, Emile. Unpublished financial aid records (Spring 1996), Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.

Larsen, David. Interview, 1 June 1995.

Lederach, John Paul. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996

Lemons, J. Stanley. *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Levine, Lawrence, and Margaret Byrne. *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996.

Lewis, Aureta E. "Letters from a Junior in France" [1938]. University of Delaware Archives 33/0/1, Box C, AR 44, Folder C-15.

Liaison Group for International Educational Exchange. *Exchange 2000: International Leadership for the Next Century*. Washington: Liaison Group for International Educational Exchange, 1990.

Liebhardt, Paul. "The History of Shipboard Education." *Steamboat Bill, Number 227*, vol. 55, no. 3 (Fall 1998).

Macri, Marion, and Patricia O'Callaghan. "A Review of the Marymount Schoools in Paris, Rome and Elsewhere." *Oriflamme*, Jubilee Number. Tarrytown, N.Y.: Marymount College, 1932.

Malone, Dumas. *The Sage of Monticello*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1981.

Matthew, R. John. *25 Years on the Left Bank*. Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1973.

McCarthy, Joann. "Connecting the International Office to Campus and Curriculum Internationalization Strategy." Presentation at Association of International Educators Conference, San Jose, Costa Rica, 21 February 1997.

McCarthy, Joann. Interview, 9 June 1998.

McLuhan, Marshall, and Quentin Fiore, produced by Jerome Agel. *The Medium is the Massage*. New York: Touchstone, 1967, 1989.

McLuhan, Marshall, and Quentin Fiore, coordinated by Jerome Agel. *War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations that could be Eliminated by More Feedforward*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

McLuhan, Marshall, and Bruce R. Powers. *The Global Village: Transformation in the World Life and Media in the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

McNeal, R. A. *Nicholas Biddle in Greece: The Journals and Letters of 1806*. University Park, Penna.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

Menand, Louis. "Everybody Else's College Education." *The New York Times Magazine*, 20 April 1997.

Merquior, J. G. *Foucault*. London: Fontana Modern Masters, Fontana Press/HarperCollins, 1991.

Mestenhauser, Josef A. Interview, April 1989.

Miel, Jan. "Ideas or Epistemes: Hazard versus Foucault." *Yale French Studies* 49 (1973).

Moore, Ann. Interview, August 1993.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.

Morris, Mary, and Larry O'Connor, editors. *Maiden Voyages: Writings of Women Travelers*. New York: Vintage Departures Original, 1993.

Mourad, Roger P., Jr. *Postmodern Philosophical Critique and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Higher Education*. Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series, edited by Henry A. Giroux. Westport, Conn., and London: Bergin and Garvey, 1997.

- Munroe, John A. *The University of Delaware: A History*. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1986.
- Munroe, John A. Interview, 7 February 1994.
- NAFSA. National Membership Survey, August 1990.
- NAFSA. "Report on National Membership Survey." *NAFSA Newsletter* vol. 41, no. 3 (December/January 1990).
- NAFSA. *NAFSA Directory*. New York: NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 1994.
- NAFSA. *NAFSA Membership Directory, 1997-98*. New York: NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 1997.
- National Center for Educational Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics, 1990*. Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 1991.
- National Center for Educational Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics, 1993-94*. Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 1996.
- National Center for Educational Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics, 1998*. Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 2000. URL: [http://nces.ed.gov/pubs99/digest 98/chapter3.html](http://nces.ed.gov/pubs99/digest%2098/chapter3.html)
- National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary "Completions" Survey. U.S. Department of Education, URL [http://nces.ed.gov/pubs99/digest 98/chapter3.html](http://nces.ed.gov/pubs99/digest%2098/chapter3.html) (accessed 1/11/2000).
- National Commission on Excellence in Education. *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 1983.
- National Governors Association Task Force on International Education. *America in Transition: The International Frontier*. Washington: National Governors Association, 1989.
- A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task*. Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad. Washington: NAFSA: Association for International Educators, May 1990.
- National Security Education Program. *Summary Report, Undergraduate Scholarships, 1994-1995 Competition Cycle*. New York: Institute for International Education, 1994.

Newcomer, Mabel. *A Century of Higher Education for American Women*. Washington: Zenger Publishing Co, 1959.

NSEP: Undergraduate Scholarships for Study Abroad, Preparing for the Future. New York: Institute of International Education, 1994.

Olmsted, Patricia. "Sixty Years of Study Abroad: A Backward Glance at the Profession." Paper presented at NAFSA Conference, Long Beach, Calif., U.S., May 1987.

Pace, R. Robert. *The Junior Year in France: An Evaluation of the University of Delaware-Sweet Briar College Program*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1959.

Peters, Michael, editor. *After the Disciplines: The Emergence of Cultural Studies*. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1999.

Peterson's Study Abroad 1993: A Guide to Semester and Year Abroad Academic Programs. Princeton, N.J.: Peterson's, 1993.

Peterson's Study Abroad 1995: A Guide to Semester and Year Abroad Academic Programs. Princeton, N.J.: Peterson's, 1994.

Peterson's Study Abroad 1997: A Guide to Semester and Year Abroad Academic Programs. Princeton, N.J.: Peterson's, 1997.

Pirog, Ronald. Panel discussion, NAFSA Region IX Conference on History of Study Abroad, Norfolk, Virginia, 17 November 1990.

President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. *Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979.

Putnam, Ivan, editor. *Study Abroad: A Handbook for Advisers and Administrators*. Washington: National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, 1979.

Quigley, Ned. Interview, 8 June 1998.

Record Book on Delforians, 1923-1936. University of Delaware Archives, Box 52, AR 96, Folder 1645.

Redford, Bruce. *Venice and the Grand Tour*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

Reilly, Kathleen M. Unpublished paper, 1995.

Riley, Richard W. "The Growing Importance of International Education." Presented at La Maison Francaise, Washington, D.C., 19 April 2000. Reported on U.S. Department of Education's website, <http://www.ed.gov/Speeches/04-2000/000419.html>

Report on NSEP Undergraduate Allocations. "Undergraduate Scholarships 1994-1995 Competition Cycle Summary Report." Washington: Institute of International Education, National Security Education Program, 1995.

Rogers, Francis M. *American Juniors on the Left Bank*. Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1958.

Rosary College. *The Rosary College Foreign Study Plan*, no. 1 (March 1947), River Forest, Ill. University of Delaware Archives, Rosary College General, Folder 4181AR64, 33/0/3 General Correspondence, Box H20.

Rosary College Bulletin, 1947. University of Delaware Archives, Rosary College General, Folder 4181AR64 33/0/3, General Correspondence, Box H20.

Rossiter, Margaret W. "Doctorates for American Women, 1868-1907." *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer 1982.

Roy, Gilbert. Interview, 23 July 1994.

Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College and University, A History*. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.

Sanders, Irwin T. and Jennifer C. Ward. *Bridges to Understanding: International Programs of American Colleges and Universities*. Third of a series, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Existentialism and Humanism*, translated by Philip Mairet. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1948.

Seaman, Barrett, et al. *The Best College for You*. New York: Time Inc., 1997.

Schneider, Alison. "Stanford Revisits the Course that Set Off the Culture Wars." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 9 May 1997: A10-A12.

Schrag, Francis. "Why Foucault Now." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 31, URL <http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/jcs/vol13>

SECUSS-L. Survey initiated by William Hoffa on SECUSS-L Listserv, NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 30 November 1993.

Sittler, Cindy. Interviews, December 1992 and August 1993.

The Sixth Annual Floating University World Voyage. New York: University Travel Association, 1936.

Smith, Page. *Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America*. New York: Viking Press, 1990.

Smith, Stephen G., ed. *America's Best Colleges*. Washington: U.S. News and World Report, 1999.

Solomon, Barbara Miller. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.

Spain, Daphne. "How Women Saved the City." Unpublished manuscript, 1998.

"Special Correspondence: The New Oxford Summer Vacation Course." *School and Society* 14, no. 619 (6 November 1926).

Steen, Sara J., ed. *Academic Year Abroad 1992-93*. New York: Institute of International Education, 1993.

Steen, Sara J., ed. *Academic Year Abroad 1997-98*. New York: Institute of International Education, 1996.

Steen, Sara J., ed. *Vacation Study Abroad 1997-98*. New York: Institute of International Education, 1996.

Stein, Gertrude. *Paris and France*. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1940.

Steinberg, Jacques. "Parlez-Vous Français? But Why Bother?" *New York Times*, 27 December 1998: WK-3.

Stimpson, Catherine R. "Colleges in the U.S. Beginning to Ask, 'Where Have All the Men Gone?'" *New York Times*, 6 December 1998: A38.

Stohlman, Martha Lou Lemmon. *The Story of Sweet Briar College*. Sweet Briar, Va.: Alumnae Association of Sweet Briar College, 1956.

Stowe, William W. *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Stubbs, Nancy. "Financial Aid." In William Hoffa, *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators*. Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1993.

"Student Exchanges & Peace." *School and Society* 18 (25 August 1923).

Study Abroad. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Division of International Programs Abroad, 1993.

Study Abroad Baseline Survey. Unpublished report, Council on International Educational Exchange, 1996.

"The Success of American Graduate Students in the University of London." *School and Society* 29 (26 January 1929).

Sweet Briar College. *Bulletin for Junior Year in France* (February 1948).

Sweet Briar College. *Sweet Briar College Junior Year in France* [catalog], 1993-94. Sweet Briar, Va.: Sweet Briar College, 1993.

Szekely, Beatrice Beach, and Maria Krane. "The Current Demographics of Education Abroad." In William Hoffa and John Pearson. *NAFSA's Guide to Education Abroad for Advisers and Administrators*, 2nd edition. Washington: NAFSA: Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1997.

Thompson, Gerry. Interview, 15 August 1991.

Thorp, Margaret Farrand. *Neilson of Smith*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Trease, Geoffrey. *The Grand Tour*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.

Trow, Martin. "American Higher Education: Past, Present, and Future." In Lester F. Goodchild and Harold S. Wechsler, editors, *ASHE Reader on the History of Higher Education*, ASHE Reader Series. Needham Heights, Mass.: Ginn Press, 1989.

Tylor, Mary Louise. "Study Abroad." In Asa S. Knowles, editor-in-chief. *International Encyclopedia of Higher Education*, vol. 4 (D-F). San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers, 1977.

University of Delaware Archives. Sketch of Foreign Study Plan, Foreign Study Program: Scope and General Statement. AR 97, "Delfor," Folder #1.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Statistical Abstracts*, Table 617, 1996.

U.S. Department of Education. Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education Publications. URL <http://www.ed.gov/pubs/statss.html>

"Vacation Courses for Foreigners in French Universities." *School and Society* 20 (August 1924).

Vaughn, Harold. "Connecting the International Office to Campus and Curriculum Internationalization Strategy." Presentation at Association of International Educators Conference, San Jose, Costa Rica, 21 February 1997.

Vaughn, Harold. Interview, 7 May 1997.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. New York: Modern Library, 1934.

Veysey, Laurence R. *The Emergence of the American University*, third edition. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Von Klemperer, Lily. Oral history interview by Tom Roberts, Spring 1990. Sponsored by NAFSA: Association of International Educators.

Wagoner, Jennings L., Jr., and Wayne J. Urban. *American Education: A History*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996.

Wallace, John A. *The Organization and Outcomes of a European Field Trip in Economics for 23 College Women*. Ed.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, February 1949.

Wallace, John A. "Characteristics of Programs for Study Abroad," *Journal of General Education*, vol. 13, no. 4 (January 1962).

Weaver, Henry. Interview, CIEE Oral History Video Series, 1 June 1994.

Weaver, Paul. "Study Abroad and General Education." *Journal of General Education*, vol. 13, no. 4 (January 1962).

Weaver, Richard M. *Ideas Have Consequences*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Woodard, Colin. "Exchange Group Accused of Placing Profits over its Mission of Promoting Foreign Study." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 May 1998: A50.

Woodberry, L. Robert. "Sunday Forum: Internationalize University Curriculum with Exchanges." *Sunday* [Lewiston, Maine], 21 October 1990: 3D.

Woody, Thomas. *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. New York: The Science Press, 1929.

Zeigler, A. Lee. "History of SECUSSA." Panel presentation, NAFSA: Association of International Educators National Conference, 28 May 1998.

APPENDIX A

Supplementary Tables, Chapters 3 to 5

Table 3.3

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 13
Reasons for Study Abroad

Question #13

Did you go abroad to:

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
a	16%	19%	a) enhance your career skills?
b	48%	45%	b) broaden your cultural horizon?
c	23%	28%	c) develop your independence?
d	13%	7%	d) other?

	a	b	c	d
Male	11	33	16	9
Female	66	155	97	24

*Respondents can choose more than one answer.

Table 3.4

Darden Survey, Reasons for Study Abroad

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ayres et al., "CIEE Market Study," 18.

Table 3.5

CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 13: Areas of Interest for Programme Development

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad Baseline Survey*, 1996.

Table 3.6

University of Delaware Foreign Study Plan
Paris Programme Gender Analysis, 1923-24 to 1939-40

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Delfor Alumni Association, Foreign Study Plan Records, Box 52
(AR52) (AR96), Folder 1623, 33/0/8.

Table 3.7

Summary of Junior Year in France Groups, 1948-49 to 1992-93

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Emile Langlois, private programme records, June 1993.

Table 3.8

CIEE Programmes: Enrollment and Gender History

TOTALS BY COUNTRY
CIEE PROGRAMS

COUNTRY	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
Brazil 1991-1992	27	19	46
Chile 1992	11	10	21
Germany 1991-1992	4	20	24
Hungary 1991-1992	35	29	64
Czechoslovakia 1991-1992	53	33	86
Poland 1991-1992	19	5	24 +1unknown
Thailand 1991-1992	10	13	23
Vietnam 1991-1992	14	13	27
Australia 1991-1992	10	5	15
Costa Rica 1989-1992	35	21	56
Dominican Republic 1987-1992	113	39	152
China 1986-1992	217	199	416 +9unknown
Japan 1986-1992	136	178	314 +2unknown
Indonesia 1989-1992	26	36	62
Spain 1973-1992	2832	1025	3857 +1unknown
France 1973-1992	1156	330	1486
* Russia 1987-1992	463	384	847 +19unknown
TOTAL	5161	2359	7520+32unknown =7552

Table 3.10

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 20

Did you encounter beliefs which impeded your study abroad pursuits?

Question #20, part II - for those who said "Yes" in part I.

What were those impediments?

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
c	14%	18%	c) faculty beliefs your discipline could best be studied in the U.S.
d	0%	17%	d) faculty belief that study abroad was not serious
e	14%	9%	e) faculty suspicion of study abroad
f	0%	8%	f) faculty perception (contrary to reality) that you had no career goals

	c	d	e	f
Male	1	0	1	0
Female	12	11	6	5

Table 3.11

CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 27
Student Factors When Considering Study Abroad

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad Baseline Survey*, 1996.

Table 3.14

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 11
Socioeconomic Status at Time of Study

Question #11

How would you define your socio-economic status at the time of your participation in study abroad?

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
a	5%	11%	a) upper class
b	42%	48%	b) upper middle class
c	37%	35%	c) middle class
d	11%	4%	d) lower middle class
e	5%	1%	e) upper lower class
f	0%	1%	f) lower class
g	0%	1%	g) other

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Male	2	16	14	4	2	0	0
Female	19	80	58	7	1	1	1

Table 3.15

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 12
How did you finance your study abroad experience?

Question #12

How did you finance your study abroad experience?

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
a	38%	58%	a) family paid
b	13%	8%	b) you worked and paid
c	20%	7%	c) you received scholarship support which was necessary in order to be able to study abroad
d	9%	7%	d) you received financial aid in the form of federal or state loan programs, work study, etc.
e	19%	19%	e) combination of the above
f	2%	1%	f) other

	a	b	c	d	e	f
Male	24	8	13	6	12	1
Female	131	19	15	15	44	2

*Respondents can choose more than one answer.

Table 3.16

Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Funds, 1948-49 to 1971-72

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER
LEGAL ISSUES



Source: John Matthew, *Twenty-Five Years on the Left Bank*, 1973, p. 33.

Table 3.17

CIEE Baseline Survey: Financial Aid Use

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad
Baseline Survey*, 1996.

Table 3.18

Sweet Briar Junior Year in France Financial Aid, 1992-96

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Emile Langlois, private records, July 1996. Records are not available prior to 1992-93.

Table. 3.19

International 50 Membership

The International 50

Agnes Scott College	Lawrence University
Amherst College	Macalester College
Austin College	Middlebury College
Barnard College	Mills College
Bates College	Mount Holyoke College
Beloit College	Oberlin College
Bennington College	Occidental College
Bowdoin College	Pitzer College
Bryn Mawr College	Pomona College
Carleton College	Principia College
Colby College	Randolph-Macon
Colorado College	Woman's College
Connecticut College	Reed College
Davidson College	Saint Olaf College
Dartmouth University	Sarah Lawrence College
Dickinson College	Scripps College
Earlham College	Smith College
Eckerd College	Swarthmore College
Goshen College	Sweet Briar College
Goucher College	Union College
Grinnell College	Vassar College
Hamilton College	Wellesley College
Hampshire College	Wells College
Haverford College	Wesleyan University
Kalamazoo College	Williams College
Kenyon College	College of Wooster
Knox College	

Table 3.20

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Engerman and Marden, *In the International Interest*, 44.

Table 3.21

Tuition, Fees, Room, and Board at International 50 Colleges, 1997

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Seaman, Barrett, et al., "The Best College for You," *Time* special edition, 1997. Data from *Time/The Princeton Review*, 1997.

Table 3.22

University of Delaware Programme Feeder Institutions, 1923-39

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Bulletin of the University of Delaware, new series, vol. 42, no. 2 (March 1947), 26-27.

Table 3.23
Council on International Education Exchange
Top Ten Feeder Schools, 1995-96 to 1996-97

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Michael DeFrank, CIEE Senior Field Director,
Summer 1997.

Table 3.24

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 15
 Student Majors Prior to Study Abroad

Question #15

Prior to your planned study abroad experience, what was your planned or determined major?

	Men	Women	
a	27%	16%	a) humanities
b	14%	8%	b) social sciences
c	36%	51%	c) foreign language
d	9%	1%	d) science
e	7%	8%	e) political science
f	0%	0%	f) engineering
g	0%	1%	g) business
h	2%	1%	h) pre-law
i	5%	14%	i) other

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i*
Male	12	6	16	4	3	0	0	1	2
Female	26	13	81	2	13	0	1	1	22

*Other Majors listed under (i) include:

Pre-Med
 Psychology
 Music
 Art
 Theatre
 International Relations

Table 3.25

CIEE Enrollments in Diversified Programmes, 1989-93

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Engineering	4	20	24
Hard Sciences	35	21	56
Business	136	178	314 + 2 unknown
Humanities and Social Sciences	4986	2140	7126 + 30 unknown

*Spain's programs are a combination of both Business and Social Sciences

Table 3.26

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad Baseline Survey*, 1996, 1.

Table 3.27

CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 17
Do you charge an administrative fee?

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad Baseline Survey*, 1996, 9.

Table 3.28

CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 17
Administrative Changes

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Council on International Educational Exchange, *Study Abroad Baseline Survey*, 1996, 7.

Table 3.29

CIEE Enrollments by Country, Language, and Programme Span, 1973-92
(All programmes are Social Science/Humanities unless otherwise noted.)

CIEE PROGRAMS			
Brazil 1991-1992	27	19	46
Chile 1992	11	10	21
(Engineering) Germany 1991-1992 English	4	20	24
Hungary 1991-1992 English	35	29	64
Czechoslovakia 1991-1992 English	53	33	86
Poland 1991-1992 English	19	5	24 + 1 unknown
Thailand 1991-1992 English	10	13	23
Vietnam 1991-1992 English	14	13	27
Australia 1991-1992 English	10	5	15
(Tropical Biology) Costa Rica 1989-1992 English	35	21	56
Dominican Republic 1987-1992	113	39	152
China 1986-1992	217	199	416 + 9 unknown
(Business) Japan 1986-1992 English	136	178	314 + 2 unknown
Indonesia 1989-1992 English	26	36	62
Spain 1973-1992 unknown	2832	1025	3857 + 1
France 1973-1992	1156	330	1486
Russia 1987-1992	463	384	847 + 19 unknown
TOTAL	5161	2359	7520 + 32 unknown = 7552

Table 4.1

CIEE Baseline Survey, Question 31:

Rate the Factors Determining Student Eligibility for Study Abroad

31. We would like to learn about the admissions requirements at your institution pertaining to study abroad. Please rate each of the following factors in terms of their importance in determining student eligibility:

Very Important (4) Important (3) Somewhat (2) Not Very Important (1) Not Important(0)

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Average Response</u>
1. Academic standing (GPA)	1. 2.96
2. Major	2. 1.67
3. Previous Language Study	3. 2.17
4. Faculty Recommendation	4. 2.82
5. Personal Essay	5. 2.27
6. Personal Attributes	6. 2.74
7. Other	7. 0.23

Table 4.2

CIEE Examination of Programme Requirements

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: CIEE Viewbook, 1995.

Table 4.3

GPA Requirements for Admission to Leading Study Abroad Supplier Institutions

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Sources: Sara J. Steen, ed., *Academic Year Abroad 1997-98* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1996); William Velivis, correspondence, 14 December 1994.

Table 4.5

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 23
How did you hear about the Sweet Briar programme?

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
a	10%	15%	a) from a study abroad advisor
b	54%	37%	b) from a faculty member
c	17%	11%	c) from a friend/peer who had attended the program
d	5%	4%	d) from a friend/peer who had heard about the program
e	0%	8%	e) from a parent or other adult relative
f	0%	2%	f) from a poster
g	10%	18%	g) from program literature
h	5%	5%	h) other

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
Male	4	22	7	2	0	0	4	2
Female	33	81	23	9	17	5	40	10

*Respondents can choose more than one answer.

Table 4.6

Sweet Briar Alumni Survey, Question 24
Who/what influenced you to attend this programme?

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
a	5%	8%	a) study abroad advisor
b	47%	38%	b) faculty member
c	21%	15%	c) friend/peer
d	5%	13%	d) parent
e	5%	1%	e) Sweet Briar representatives
f	11%	13%	f) Sweet Briar program literature
g	5%	12%	g) other

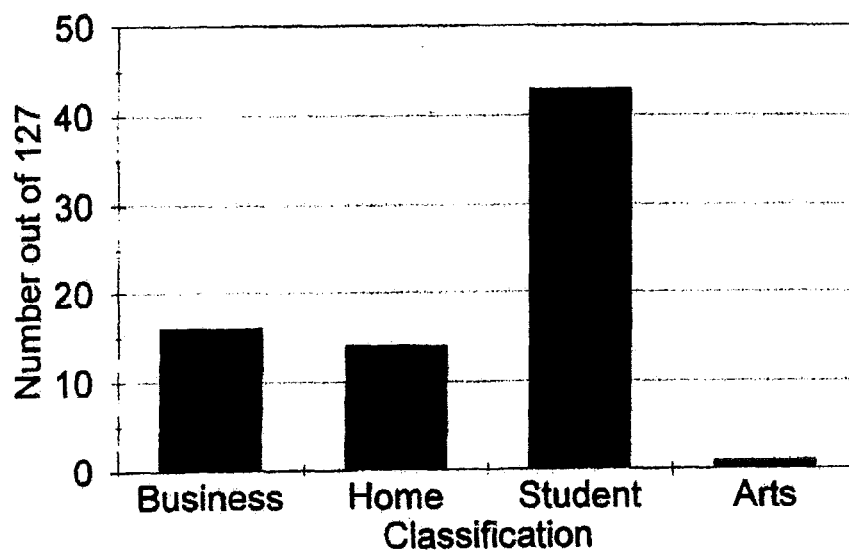
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Male	1	9	4	1	1	2	1
Female	10	48	19	16	1	16	15

(This crosstab represents the number of respondents who chose (a - g) as their primary influence.)

Table 4.12

University of Delaware Committee on Foreign Study Alumni Survey
Alumnae Occupations and Professional Affiliations

Occupation



Business Information

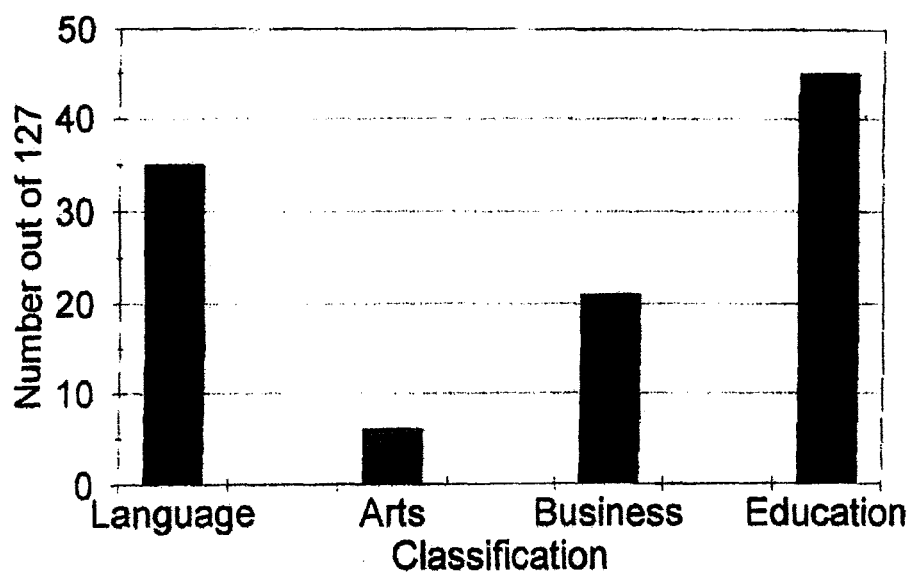


Table 4.18

CIEE Programmes: Race, Ethnic, Gender Enrollment Analyses, 1991-94

COUNTRY	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		TOTAL	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Brazil	6	0	8	14	8	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	1	27	19
Chile	0	0	9	8	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	10
Germany	0	4	4	11	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	20
Hungary	0	0	30	23	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	5	35	29
Czech.	0	0	42	31	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	0	5	1	53	33
*Poland	0	0	13	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	14	10
Thai.	0	0	6	11	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	10	13
Vietnam	0	0	8	9	1	1	3	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	14	13
Austral	0	0	10	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	5
C. Rica	0	0	20	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	22	10
Dom.Rep	13	3	40	9	6	0	1	0	1	0	2	4	3	0	66	16
China	3	1	34	28	0	0	17	5	0	0	0	0	19	14	73	48
Japan	4	3	27	51	1	1	19	7	0	0	2	0	5	10	58	72
Indon.	0	0	19	20	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	5	23	28
*Spain	10	5	414	162	33	19	12	4	2	2	10	5	99	43	580	240
France	6	3	129	42	5	2	6	3	1	0	25	10	25	14	197	74
Russia	5	1	152	104	1	0	4	2	0	0	48	29	12	9	222	145
Total	47	20	965	546	58	30	69	30	6	3	94	53	180	103	1419	785

* Plus one white student of unknown gender.

GRAND TOTALS

Race	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Female	47	965	58	69	6	94	180	1419
Male	20	546	30	30	3	53	103	785
Total	67	1511	88	99	9	147	283	2204

Race codes: 1-Black
 2-White
 3-Hispanic
 4-Asian
 5-Native American
 6-Other
 7-Unknown

Table 5.1

Constituent Societies of the American Council of Learned Societies

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: ACLS website, <http://www.acls.org/ls-ca0.htm>, 29 July 2000

Appendix B

Sweet Briar College Alumni Survey, 1995: Questionnaire

Biographical Data:

- A. Name (if you would like to provide it) _____
- B. Gender: 1. _____ male 2. _____ female
- C. College or university attended _____
- D. Highest degree attained: 1. _____ AA 2. _____ BA 3. _____ MA
4. _____ Ph.D 5. _____ LLB 6. _____ MFA
7. _____ Other
- E. Dates attended study abroad program? _____
- F. Race: 1. _____ Caucasian 2. _____ Afro American 3. _____ Hispanic
4. _____ Asian 5. _____ Other
- G. Religious Affiliation: 1. _____ Christian 2. _____ Jewish 3. _____ Moslem
4. _____ Buddhist 5. _____ Hindu 6. _____ Other
- H. Career: 1. _____ Education 2. _____ Business 3. _____ International Profession
4. _____ Law 5. _____ Health 6. _____ Social Service
7. _____ Engineering Technology 8. _____ Science
- I. Age: 1. _____ 20-30 2. _____ 31-40 3. _____ 41-50
4. _____ 51-60 5. _____ 61-70 6. _____ 71-80
7. _____ 80+

Questions:

1. BEFORE YOU DID YOUR STUDY ABROAD PROGRAM, DID YOU HOPE TO PURSUE A GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL STUDY OR A CAREER AFTER GRADUATION?
- a. _____ yes b. _____ no c. _____ other
2. DID YOU FEEL YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE COULD BETTER PREPARE YOU FOR GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL OR A CAREER?
- a. _____ yes b. _____ no c. _____ maybe d. _____ other
3. DID YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE CHANGE YOUR GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION OR CAREER GOALS?
- a. _____ yes b. _____ no c. _____ maybe

4. AFTER COLLEGE DID YOU PURSUE:

- a. graduate or professional study
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- b. a professional full-time job
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- c. a full-time job in a non-professional category
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- d. part-time professional work
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- e. part-time non-professional work
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- f. volunteer activities
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no

5. WAS YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE DIRECTLY CONNECTED TO YOUR GRADUATE, PROFESSIONAL OR WORK EXPERIENCES AFTER YOU GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE?

- a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no

6. DID YOU HOPE YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE WOULD:

- a. give you an opportunity to be more independent
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- b. provide you with a more receptive environment than you faced in the United States:
 - as a woman
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - as an Afro American
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - as an Asian
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - as an Hispanic
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - as another ethnic group
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - as a member of a specific religious group
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no

7. DID YOU ANTICIPATE A LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING CONDITIONS ABROAD THAN YOU HAD IN THE UNITED STATES?
- a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
8. DID YOU ENCOUNTER MORE DIFFICULT LIVING CONDITIONS THAN YOU WERE USED TO IN THE UNITED STATES?
- a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
9. STUDY ABROAD IS MORE FREQUENTLY UNDERTAKEN BY WOMEN THAN MEN. THERE ARE MANY POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THIS. DO YOU THINK WOMEN PREFER STUDY ABROAD BECAUSE THEY FEEL:
- a. it provides them a freer socio-cultural environment in which to function
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- b. it provides them a supportive academic environment
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- c. it enhances their career opportunities
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- d. It provides them with opportunities to develop independence
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
10. WHY DO YOU THINK IT HAS BEEN MORE FREQUENTLY UNDERGRADUATE WOMEN THAN MEN FROM THE UNITED STATES WHO HAVE STUDIED ABROAD?
- a. men need to stay in the U.S. and focus on job training in their college education
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- b. women more frequently than men are interested in understanding and supporting art and culture
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- c. women are more capable of learning foreign languages
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- d. women feel overseas living and study is an important opportunity for self-development and independence which men can usually attain within their U.S. environment
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- e. women have fewer opportunities for experimentation and growth than men on the U.S. campus
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- f. none of the above ☐
- g. other _____

11. HOW WOULD YOU DEFINE YOUR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AT THE TIME OF YOUR PARTICIPATION IN STUDY ABROAD?

- ☐ a. upper class
- ☐ b. upper middle class
- ☐ c. middle class
- ☐ d. lower middle class
- ☐ e. upper/lower class
- ☐ f. lower class
- ☐ g. other

12. HOW DID YOU FINANCE YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE?

- ☐ a. family paid
- ☐ b. you worked and paid
- ☐ c. you received scholarship support which was necessary in order to be able to afford study abroad
- ☐ d. you received financial aid in the form of federal or state loan programs, work study, etc.
- ☐ e. combination of the above
- ☐ f. other

13. DID YOU GO ABROAD TO:

- ☐ a. enhance career skills
- ☐ b. broaden your cultural horizon
- ☐ c. develop your independence
- ☐ d. other

14. DID YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE, ONCE IT WAS COMPLETED:

- a. encourage a sense of independence
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- b. increase your desire to work professionally
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- c. change your career goals
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- d. increase your sense of self-worth
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no

15. PRIOR TO YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE WHAT WAS YOUR PLANNED OR YOUR DECLARED ACADEMIC MAJOR?
- ☐ a. humanities
 - ☐ b. social science
 - ☐ c. foreign language
 - ☐ d. science
 - ☐ e. political science
 - ☐ f. engineering
 - ☐ g. business
 - ☐ h. pre-law
 - ☐ i. other
16. IF YOU WERE A FOREIGN LANGUAGE MAJOR, DID YOU CHOOSE TO MAJOR IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE:
- a. because it would give you an opportunity to have an overseas experience
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - b. because it fit in with career plans
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - c. because of your own ethnic identity and your interest in knowing your ethnic language
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - d. because of your interest in the culture and your desire to know the art and culture of a specific country or region
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - e. because you enjoy language study
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - f. because you acquire languages easily
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
17. WHEN YOU DECIDED TO DO STUDY ABROAD, DID YOU SEE YOURSELF AS DIFFERENT FROM YOUR PEERS WHO DID NOT GO ABROAD IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS:
- a. more independent than non-study abroad peers
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - b. more interested in feminist issues (if you are a woman) than non-study abroad peers
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - c. more career oriented than non-study abroad peers
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - d. more adventurous than non-study abroad peers
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
 - e. more able to afford it than non-study abroad peers
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no

18. IF YOU ARE A WOMAN WHO PARTICIPATED IN STUDY ABROAD, DO YOU SEE THE PRIMARY REASON FOR WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN STUDY ABROAD BEING:

- a. their cultural interests
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- b. their desire to grow independently
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- c. their career interests
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no
- d. their desire to find a more supportive educational environment than they experienced at home
a. ☐ yes b. ☐ no

19. WERE ANY OF THESE FACTORS IMPORTANT IN HELPING YOU DECIDE TO GO ABROAD?

- ☐ a. your ethnic background and your desire to explore your roots
- ☐ b. previous travel
- ☐ c. your family's interest in international issues and preferences
- ☐ d. your friendship with foreign individuals
- ☐ e. your academic interests
- ☐ f. a faculty member who encouraged you
if a faculty member, was this person:
 - ☐ a. male
 - ☐ b. female
- ☐ g. other _____

20. DID YOU ENCOUNTER BELIEFS OR SOCIAL OR CULTURAL IMPEDIMENTS TO YOUR STUDYING ABROAD?

1. ☐ yes 2. ☐ no
- ☐ a. family values which reflected a sense a woman should not travel independently
 - ☐ b. family suspicion of foreign countries
 - ☐ c. faculty beliefs your discipline could best be studied in the U.S.
 - ☐ d. faculty belief that study abroad was not serious
 - ☐ e. faculty suspicion of study abroad
 - ☐ f. faculty perception (contrary to reality) that you had no career goals
 - ☐ g. family perception (contrary to reality) that you had no career goals
 - ☐ h. family perception overseas study had no practical career training value
 - ☐ i. family values which reflected the belief men should not waste time with study abroad
 - ☐ j. other _____

21. CAN YOU IDENTIFY YOUR AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME:
- | | |
|---|---|
| a. <input type="text"/> \$ 0 | e. <input type="text"/> \$ 40,000 - \$ 50,000 |
| b. <input type="text"/> \$ 20,000 or under | f. <input type="text"/> \$ 50,000 - \$ 75,000 |
| c. <input type="text"/> \$ 20,000 - \$ 30,000 | g. <input type="text"/> \$ 75,000 - \$100,000 |
| d. <input type="text"/> \$ 30,000 - \$ 40,000 | h. <input type="text"/> \$100,000 - above |
22. WHAT FEATURES PROMPTED YOU TO CHOOSE THIS STUDY ABROAD PROGRAM. Please rank order 1 (highest) to 12 (lowest) motive.
- year-long study
 - language training
 - location
 - academic reputation
 - housing and meals quality
 - family living option
 - opportunity to study under native/host faculty vs a U.S. operated program
 - internship options
 - professional training/preparation components
 - extracurricular options
 - your home school recommended the program
 - other
23. HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT THE SWEET BRIAR PROGRAM?
- from a study abroad advisor
 - from a faculty member
 - from a friend/peer who had attended the program
 - from a friend/peer who had heard about the program
 - from a parent or other adult relative
 - from a poster
 - from program literature
 - other
24. WHO/WHAT INFLUENCED YOU TO ATTEND THIS PROGRAM? (please name order) 1 (highest) to 7 (lowest) motive?
- study abroad advisor
 - faculty member
 - friend/peer
 - parent
 - Sweet Briar representatives
 - Sweet Briar program literature
 - other _____

Appendix C

Sketch of Foreign Study Plan, Scope and General Statement

I THE AIM

International understanding - bettered.
American efficiency - or effectiveness - in foreign travel increased.
American vision of world affairs - broadened.
American college education - stimulated and liberalized.

II THE SITUATION AT PRESENT

Foreign study and travel - chiefly vocational
Post graduate - very limited - scholarships to specialists not general.
No plan looking to wide extension of familiarity with foreign language, trade, customs, and ideas.
No ability to really use a foreign language even by those who have taken full school and college courses in the country in which it is used. Almost impossible without residence in the country in which it is used. Admitted by schools and colleges generally.

III TO BE NOTED

- a. American college undergraduates do not at present go abroad because

The thought has not been suggested to them.
Its value in a business and cultural way has not been realized.
They do not know how to go about it.

Their parents would not allow them to go because of youth, inexperience, and lack of supervision.
Heretofore, in the scramble for more students, colleges would not have looked with favor upon any plan that would take any students away from them even for a year.

The necessity for fluent use and understanding of a foreign language, in order to profit by instruction abroad, has prevented consideration of such a thing by the average student or faculty.

- b. American college graduates do not go abroad in any number because

When the traditional 4-years have been completed they consider themselves ready to "take a job".
Their parents feel that they are not willing to spend any more on their education.

4-years is felt by the average student and parent to be the maximum amount that should be devoted to college training for a boy who is going into "business".

I THE AIM

International understanding - bettered.
American efficiency - or effectiveness - in foreign trade increased.
American vision of world affairs - broadened.
American college education - stimulated and liberalized.

II THE SITUATION AT PRESENT

Foreign study and travel - chiefly vocational
Post graduate - very limited - scholarships to specialists not general.
No plan looking to wide extension of familiarity with foreign language, trade, customs, and ideas.
No ability to really use a foreign language even by those who have taken full school and college courses in the country in which it is used. Admitted by schools and colleges generally.

III TO BE NOTED

- a. American college undergraduates do not at present go abroad because
The thought has not been suggested to them.
Its value in a business and cultural way has not been realized.
They do not know how to go about it.

Their parents would not allow them to go because of youth, inexperience, and lack of supervision.
Heretofore, in the scramble for more students, colleges would not have looked with favor upon any plan that would take any students away from them even for a year.
The necessity for fluent use and understanding of a foreign language, in order to profit by instruction abroad, has prevented consideration of such a thing by the average student or faculty.
- b. American college graduates do not go abroad in any number because
When the traditional 4-years have been completed they consider themselves ready to "take a job".
Their parents feel that they are not willing to spend any more on their education.
4-years is felt by the average student and parent to be the maximum amount that should be devoted to college training for a boy who is going into "business".

- c. Therefore,
Study abroad, to reach any considerable numbers, must
be done during the undergraduate course.

IV THE PLAN

Broadly:

To allow students to take their Junior year (Possibly the Senior year) in France, Germany, Spain or South America, Italy, or Central Europe and receive full credit toward the baccalaureate degree for this year's work.

In more detail:

To demonstrate the feasibility of the plan by beginning with France in a small way.

To have an instructor from the Department of Modern Languages take a party of Juniors selected by him and approved by the Faculty to France.

No one eligible who has not had at least three years French in school and college.

Party leaves last of June.

Students spend summer in intensive tutoring under French instructors in written and spoken French.

Thus prepared they enter courses as nearly as possible equivalent to ours, at Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons, or elsewhere.

Students lodged in reputable French homes - separately - chosen by instructor in charge of their party.

Details as to courses, lodging, etc., supervised by instructor who is responsible to home college for reports on work of students and for making necessary arrangements as to examinations for credit certificates in conformity with American System.

V EXPANSION OF PLAN

Brought into correlation with work and organization of American University Union.

Regional units formed in various sections of the United States.

Regular rotation among institutions of learning in sending members of their teaching staffs.

Expansion to include the several countries mentioned.

Details of correlation with the American system to be worked out gradually by those in charge.

VI ULTIMATE RESULTS AIMED AT

A great reservoir of college trained men fit for language teaching positions and for use by business, trade, industry, commerce, and the government, for work abroad or for other work that involves knowledge of the language and customs of other countries.

Better understanding of the rest of the world.

Liberalizing of American education.

VII DIFFICULTIES

The greatest difficulty to be encountered in realizing the hope that this "Delaware Experiment" will result in adoption, notationally, lies in the difference in the plan of education of the American college and the European or South American University. The investigations made, however, indicate that a close enough approximation to our form of credits can be arranged to make the work acceptable to American institutions, and one may feel sure that other institutions will follow our lead if the experiment proves successful.

A great amount of work will have to be done by the University of Delaware for several years to get the plan thoroughly launched and adopted by a sufficiently large number of institutions to make the output significantly large but a very small number - say five - from each of 100 of the 400 colleges in the United States would amount to 500 students each year studying in foreign countries, a great advance over present conditions.

VIII APPROVAL

The plan has received the approval of Dr. Capen, Director of the American Council on Education, Professor Champenois, representative of French Universities in America, and Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce; also by many individual educators and business men.

Mr. Hoover in a personal interview stated that he considered the plan sound and valuable; that it avoided or successfully met the reasons for failure of other foreign study plans, all of which have been more or less artificial; that our plan is the first one to endeavor to fit foreign study into the normal and accepted scheme of American education. After study of the outline left with him, he confirmed this judgment by letter and stated that the Department of

Commerce would be glad to cooperate with us in the undertaking.

He said, in the interview referred to, that there is nothing the United States needs more at the time than 5000 young men trained in the way indicated in our plan; that the United States can not gain the markets of the world thru its commercial organization and methods alone. The men for the undertaking at present are lacking.

The American Council on Education has adopted a resolution recommending that one year's study in a lycee polytechnic school, or other institution of equivalent standing be accepted for one year's credit on the baccalaureate degree by American colleges without regard to exact equivalence and parallelism of courses.

IX ADVANTAGE TO UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE

The obvious advantage in prestige and reputation, which may accrue to Delaware for launching and taking the leadership in a plan of national scope and value, is a factor in the interest that will be taken in the plan by the Faculty of the University.

I N D E X

Scope and General Statement of Plan - - - - -	1
Calendar of Foreign Study Year - - - - -	3
Course of Foreign Study - - - - -	4
Analysis of Courses - - - - -	5
Excursions and Educational Trips - - - - -	8
Student Supervision - - - - -	9
Social Life - - - - -	10
Expenses - - - - -	11
Endorsements of Plan - - - - -	12

SCOPE AND GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE PLAN

The University of Delaware, at its annual commencement exercises June 1922, announced the approval by the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Study Plan of the Modern Language Department, under which Delaware students may spend their Junior year in a foreign university. The plan is to be put into effect in 1923-1924, and the first foreign country considered is France. Mr. Kirkbride is in France making preliminary arrangements and establishing relations with the French universities.

As soon as the system is in operation any student of the University of Delaware who is interested in the study of foreign languages, foreign trade, the consular service, or other international affairs, or merely in the advantages of foreign travel, will be able to spend his Junior year in a foreign university, under the supervision of a representative of the Delaware faculty and registered as a Delaware student. The work done abroad will receive credit at the university here, and the student will return to Delaware to finish his Senior year and graduate with his class.

The project is an innovation in the educational world. Not that Americans have not studied in foreign universities before. But those that have done so were in most cases scholars doing graduate or research work, and almost none of them ever get into business. The Delaware Plan is for undergraduates. The great mass of American college men never do any post-graduate work, but go into business immediately after the usual four years in college. Since the Great War the vital importance of the foreign part of our national trade has emphasized the necessity of having trained men, and college trained men, to handle our foreign affairs. The Delaware Plan is intended to provide this foreign training, and will do it within the four years that the average man can devote to a college education.

France is the first country to be visited, and those studying French or interested in French-speaking nations will be the first to profit by the plan. The pioneer group of students will be sent to France for the school year 1923-1924, under the personal direction of Mr. Kirkbride. The members of the group will be members of the class of 1925, and they will spend their entire Junior year at the famous University of Paris. Mr. Kirkbride will take them to France in July, 1923, remain with them throughout the year, and accompany them back to Delaware in July, 1924, when they will be ready for their Senior year.

The students will arrive in France about July 1, 1923. They will first be enrolled in the University of Nancy where they will spend the months of July and August in preparatory work in French. Next they will be given two months at the Alliance Française during September and October, to get them accustomed to following the courses and lectures as conducted in French. They will enter the University of Paris at the beginning of the term November 1, and will continue there until the close of the French school year, ending June 30, 1924. They will take as

nearly as possible the same subjects that they would have taken in their Junior year at Delaware, except, of course, that everything will be done in French instead of English. Such subjects as international law, economics, psychology, history, and literature, will be open to them.

During their stay in Paris the students will room and board in private homes, only one student being assigned to a family. This is to remove the temptation to use English, and to give as much practice as possible in speaking French. It will also give them an opportunity to get acquainted with some of the best French people.

One of the most valuable features of the trip will be the opportunity to visit the important points of interest of France. In the commercial world there are the big silk mills at Lyon, the glove factories at Grenoble, the ocean shipping at Marseilles, and the great workshops and business houses at Paris. Other attractions include the Baillifields, the Alps, the old cathedrals, and the famous art galleries, museums, and operas. All of these attractions in or near Paris can be reached almost without cost, and the others can be seen at a very small travel expense.

The cost of this year of foreign training will be extremely reasonable. It is hoped to secure ocean transportation both ways for the boys without charge to them, which removes one of the largest items. Living in France, though higher than before the war, is still not as high as in America, considering the present rate of exchange. The student will be left free to set his own scale of expenditures, but it is estimated that the cost of the entire twelve months abroad will not exceed by more than 20% the cost of a nine-month term at Delaware on an equivalent standard of living.

Thorough preparation in French will be absolutely essential to the student before he leaves this country. The trip will be available only to those who have completed Sophomore French at the university, and whose work has been of a sufficiently high standard to make it certain that they will carry on their studies successfully in French. No English at all will be used during their year overseas. The French Department at Delaware has already begun to organize the group from this year's Freshman Class, so that the work in next year's Sophomore French may be specially adapted to the needs of the student in France.

Mr. Kirkbride is spending the present year in France as the representative of the University of Delaware, making a study of the courses and subjects available, locating suitable boarding places, getting exact figures on living costs, and establishing relations with the French university authorities. The data gathered in this survey is presented in the following pages.

CALENDAR OF FOREIGN STUDY YEAR

- June 20 - Sail from New York
- June 28 - Arrival Cherbourg and Paris
- June 29 - In Paris
- June 30 - Arrival at Nancy
- July 2 to - Two months intensive French, at the
- Aug.31 University of Nancy
- Aug.12-15 - Four-day trip, Metz, Verdun, Reims, Sedan, Liege, Bruxelles, Lille, devastated regions, industrial regions. (OPTIONAL)
- Aug.31 - Arrival in Paris
- Sept.1 to - Two months intensive French at the
- Oct.31 Alliance Francaise, Paris.
- Sept.29-30- Two-day trip, Tours, Blois, and the chateau country (OPTIONAL)
- Nov. 1 - EIGHT MONTH UNIVERSITY YEAR IN PARIS
 - a. Alliance Francaise
 - b. Cours de Civilisation. (at the Sorbonne)
 - c. Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques
 - d. Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales
- June 30 - d. Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales
- Dec.26-31 - Six-day trip, Bordeaux, Biarritz, Toulouse, Limoges (OPTIONAL)
- Apr.1-12 - Twelve-day trip, Dijon, Le Creusot, Lyon, Nimes, Marseille, Nice, Grenoble, Geneve (OPTIONAL)
- Nov.1 - - As circumstances permit, visits to the Louvre,
- June 30 Notre-Dame, Sainte Chapelle, Versailles, Rambouillet, Fontainebleau, Malmaison, Usines Citroen, Banque de France, Bibliotheque Nationale, etc.etc.
- " " As the student may desire, performances of the Opera, Opera-Comique, Comedie-Francaise, Odeon, etc.
- July 1, - Return to U.S.A.
- 1924

COURSE OF FOREIGN STUDY

Months of July and August at the University of Nancy

Four months Intensive Language Drill. Four hours daily.

Text reading and analysis	1 hr per day
Grammar, phonetics, etc.	1 hr per day
Lecture	1 hr per day
Private lessons	1 hr per day

September and October at the Alliance Francaise, Paris.

Text reading and analysis	1 hr per day
Grammar, phonetics, etc.	1 hr per day
Lecture	1 hr per day
Private lesson	1 hr per day

Eight months regular French School Year.

November 1 - July 1 in different Paris institutions

- a. Cours de Civilisation Francaise (Sorbonne)
French literature 3 credits
(17th, 18th, 19th, 20th centuries)
- b. Ecole Libre des Sciences
Politiques
Economics, two courses 4 credits
Economic geography 2 credits
Diplomatic history, two courses 4 credits
Constitutional history 2 credits
- c. Institut des Hautes Etudes
Internationales
International law 3 credits
- d. Elective, in other institutions
Modern industries
Money, exchange
Tariff legislation
Commercial law
Courses in French literature
Courses in French composition

ANALYSIS OF COURSES

It has been found impossible to prepare an analysis of all courses available at Paris. The following are submitted as fair examples of those which may be profitably taken by students working in the Delaware group:
ECOLE LIBRE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES.

a. Political Economy

One lecture per week by Aupetit, Sec. Gen. de la Banque de France.

One lecture per week by Colson, leading French economist.

Two quiz-discussions per week. Credit, 4 hours.

Subject matter:

Object of political economy. Summary of economic phenomena, wealth, work, production, property, prices, distribution, consumption. Methods of economic science, geography, statistics, practical application. Theory of value and prices, exchange value, actual value, demand, supply, monopolies. Theory of the distribution of production, capital, labor, wages, interest, improvement of condition of workingmen of modern times. Progress of production, overproduction, crises, Paternalism, Labor and labor questions, co-operative, working men's insurance, syndicalism. Hygiene, female labor. Property, inheritance. Trade, money, banks, credits, middlemen. International commerce, custom laws. Public service, tests, trust legislation. Commercial treaties.

b. Commercial Policy of the Leading Powers since 1815.

One lecture per week by Arnaune, on France. Oral exam.

One lecture per week by Siegfried, on other countries.

Oral exam.

Credit, 2 hours.

Subject matter:

Commercial policy in the 17th and 18th century, tariffs of Colbert, treaties at the end of the old regime. Quesnay, David Hume, Adam Smith. The Revolution - Treaties of 1860. Protectionist movement. The colonies, tariff of 1910. Commercial relations in 1914. Foreign relations since the end of the War. Germany, economic policy of Bismarck. Present problems. Austria, influence of Metternich, commercial policy of the new states. Russia, economic changes during the 19th century. The Balkan States. Italy, Spain, Portugal, British Empire, big business, free trade, German and American competition, etc. Colonies, imperialism. United States, economic industrial development prior to the Civil War, from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War, from the Spanish-American War to the World War and since the World War. The Orient and Far East.

COURS DE CIVILISATION FRANCAISE (At Sorbonne).

a. Literature of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

Two lectures per week 1st sem. by Reynier.

Two lectures per week 2d sem. by Le Breton.

One quiz-discussion per week. Credit, 3 hours.

Subject matter:

Results of the Renaissance. Malherbe.

Foundation of the French Academy. Corneille (three lectures).

Descartes. Pascal. - the heroic novel, realistic novel.

France under Louis XIV. - Boileau. La Fontaine. -

Moliere (three lectures). Racine (two lectures). -

Bossuet. Mme. de La Fayette. Mme. de Sevigne. La

Bruyere. Duke of Rochefoucauld. Duke of Saint-Simon.

18th century, period of ideas. Prose. - Lesage.

Marivaux. L'Abbe-Prevost. - Voltaire, Diderot. Buffon.

- Beaumarchais. Rousseau. School of Rousseau. The Revolution. The Empire. - Mme. de Stael. Chateaubriand.

Romanticism. Lamartine. Vigny. - Hugo, poet. Musset.

Romantic theatre: Hugo, Vigny, Musset. Romantic Novel:

Vigny, Merimee, Hugo. History. Sand. Balzac. - Hugo

after 1830. - Sainte-Beuve. Parnassus - Baudelaire.

Renan. Taine. Labiche. Augier. Dumas' son. - Flaubert.

Zola. Maupassant. Daudet. Les Goncourt. Feuilleton. -

Modern Literature. Novel: Theuriet, Fabre, Erckmann-

Chatrian, Loti, France, Bourget, Barres, Bazin, Bordeaux,

les Marguerites. Modern Theatre: Rostand, Bornier,

Richepin, Becque, Bataille, Lavedan, Donnay, Hervieu,

Lemaitre, Brieux, Fabre. Pailleron, Courteline, Capus,

Bernard. Modern Poetry.

b. Historical Evolution of France from the Beginning to the Present Day.

Two lectures per week 1st sem. by Guignebert, head of Hist. Dept.

Two lectures per week 2d sem. by Eisenmann, Also of the Sorbonne.

One Quiz-discussion per week. Credit, 3 hours.

Subject matter:

Gaul, no development, no unity. Conquest of Caesar, change of the country by the Romans. Invasions by the Germans, Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks. Apogee of the French Empire. Charlemagne. End of Roman influence. Feudal anarchy. The Normans. Absolute disorder. Philippe-Auguste. Hundred Years' War. Charles VII. Joan of Arc. End of Feudalism. Beginning of the national policy. The Renaissance. The Reformation. Establishment of an absolute monarchy. Despotism of Louis XIV. Colbert. France in Europe. Relations with England. Fall of the Monarchy. Louis XV. Louis XVI. Foreign policy, loss of the Indies, of Canada. France before the Revolution. The Revolution. The Empire. Napoleon and Europe. The Restoration. Louis XVIII. Louis-Philippe. Second Republic. Louis Napoleon, President. Second Empire. Prosperity. Change of

Paris by Baron Haussmann. Revolution of September 4, 1870. Treaty of Frankford. Third Republic. Alliance with Russia, 1891. Entente with England, 1904. Foreign policy. The colonies. Present situation.

ALLIANCE FRANCAISE

a. French composition

One lecture per week by Bayet.

One discussion and written composition per week. Mlle. James

Credit, 2 hours.

Subject matter:

Theory and practice of composition, etc., treated in much the same way by M. Bayet as they would be treated in our American colleges.

Correction of each individual composition, and general class discussion by Mlle. James.

Other courses available are as follows:

ECOLE LIBRE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| a. Constitutional History of Central Europe and the Near East | 1 lecture per wk
1 quiz-discussion |
| b. Constitutional History of France, England and the United States | 1 lecture per wk
1 quiz-discussion |
| c. Socialism in Europe in the 19th Century | 1 lecture per wk |
| d. Banking | 1 lecture per wk
1 quiz-discussion |

COURS DE CIVILISATION. At the Sorbonne.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| a. History of Ideas. (Philosophy) | 1 sem. 2 lec. per week
1 quiz-discussion |
| b. History of French Art | 1 sem. 2 lec. per week
1 quiz-discussion |
| c. French Science | 1 sem. 2 lec. per week
1 quiz-discussion |
| d. Geography of France | 1 sem. 2 lec. per week
1 quiz-discussion |

ALLIANCE FRANCAISE

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| a. Explanation of texts (Mornet) | 1 lec. per week |
| b. Grammar (Frey) | 1 lect per week |
| c. History of Art (Parmentier) | 1 lec. per week |
| d. Vocabulary (Minouflet) | 1 lec. per week |
| e. Society and the French Family (Doupuey) | 1 lec. per week |
| f. Modern French Literature (Dupouey) | 1 lec. per week |
| g. Classic French Literature (de Felice) | 1 lec. per week |
| h. Phonetics - Theory (Rousselot) | 1 lec. per week |
| " - Practice (Pernot) | 1 ex. per week |
| i. Practical exercises - in class | 12 hrs. per week |

EXCURSIONS AND EDUCATIONAL TRIPS

One of the valuable features of the year abroad under the Foreign Study Plan will be the opportunity to become acquainted with France, which will be accomplished by meeting her business, political, social and educational leaders, visiting her various industrial, scenic, and historical points of interest, and becoming a part in her modern everyday life.

In Paris visits are planned to the Senate, the Chamber, the National Library, the Bank of France, the French Chamber of Commerce, the great Citroen automobile concern, the famous Printemps stores, and many other places of like importance that the tourist sees only from the outside, as well as the Louvre, Notre-Dame, etc., and other points usually covered by the traveller.

For the rest of France three trips are planned as follows:

- 3-day trip, in July, to the great Creusot works of Eugene Schneider, to Lille, Reims, Verdun, Metz, Nancy, and Strasbourg.
- 6-day trip, Christmas week, to Bordeaux, Biarritz, Toulouse, and Limoges.
- 12-day trip, Easter vacation, to Lyon, the world's silk center, Marseille, the key to the Orient; Nice, Grenoble, Geneva, and Dijon.

In all the visits at Paris, and at every stop made on the three trips, the party will be conducted by committees of prominent Frenchmen, and in every case will meet the managers and directors of the institutions visited.

During the year in Paris, the following will be available for the student: Performances at the Opera, "Aida", "Faust", etc.; Opera-Comique, "Carmen", etc.; Comedie-Francaise, "Hernani", etc.; Odeon, "Phedre", "Mariage de Figaro", etc.

The visits planned for Paris and vicinity will cost the student nothing.

STUDENT SUPERVISION

Professor Kirkbride will be in charge of the party throughout the year and will be responsible for supervision of all arrangements relating to class work, board, and activities. Reports on work of the students will be made periodically by him to the Dean of the College and to parents.

The students will live in private homes during their entire stay abroad. Some of the best families in France will be open to them, both for the two months at Nancy, and the ten months in Paris, including the homes of college and university professors, business and professional men. In every case the home is recommended by the French university authorities, and is visited personally by the representative of the University of Delaware.

The rooms are all comfortable and well furnished, with electric lights and modern conveniences. The meals will be a delight. "La bonne cuisine française" is famous throughout the world, and thoroughly merits its reputation. The average price for board and room will be 600 francs per month, or \$37 at the present rate of exchange. Larger and more luxurious rooms and apartments or course are available to the student who wishes to pay a higher price.

Each student will be placed singly in a home where he will be the only guest. The "pension de famille", where there are always a number of English-speaking boarders, will be rigidly avoided. The student will be sent exclusively to homes where he will be received as a member of the family. This will not only give him the opportunity of seeing French life, but will make it absolutely impossible for him to succumb to the temptation of speaking English, which is the fatal shortcoming of a majority of American students in France today.

SOCIAL LIFE

One of the most important features of the student's year in France under the Foreign Study Plan will be the opportunity of enjoying the hospitality of some of the best French families, and of taking part in the everyday French social activities. The average tourist, and indeed a large number of American students, never in Paris, get into real French life. They return to their homes with an utterly false idea of French ideas and customs. If they are inclined to a life of gaiety they see everything through the glamor of the Montmartre cabaters, which are absolutely unknown to 99 out of 100 Frenchmen. If they are more sober in their tastes they get lonely and become skeptical of French hospitality. Considerable attention has been devoted to plans for the social life of our students next year.

The response met with on the part of the French has been cordial. The following organizations have assured their hearty cooperation:

- La Fraternite Franco-Americaine;
- Les Amis de la France;
- La Bienvenue Francaise;
- L'Association Generale des Etudiants de Paris;
- French-American Students Club.

All of these organizations count among their patrons some of the most prominent people of France. Included are President Millerand, Premier Poincare, Marshal Foch, Clemenceau, Briand, etc.

Through Madame Seligmann-Lui, Secretaire-Generale of the Fraternite Franco-Americaine, students will have an entree into a large number of French homes. Madame Seligmann-Lui knows many prominent families. She plans to introduce the students, as the occasion may present itself, to all those whom she is able to interest in the movement, and then to make afternoon call appointments for each individually. In this way each student will be among friends from the very start of his sojourn in France.

Every Thursday afternoon, in their handsome salons on the Avenue des Champs-Elysees, Les Amis de la France offer a tea-concert-reception to students, to which the Delaware group will be invited. M. Henri Soulie, one of the leading Protestant ministers in France, is at the head of this organization. The receptions are attended by upwards of a hundred students and French people interested in students.

The two organizations, L'Association Generale des Etudiants de Paris, and the French-American Students Club, are precisely what their names imply. Through them the men will make the acquaintance of hundreds of students in the various schools of Paris. They will get to take part in the usual student activities, student social affairs, etc. And they will

form friendships which both now and in after years will prove one of the most pleasant and valuable features of their Foreign Study year abroad.

EXPENSES

The total expenses of a student's year at prices now prevailing in France (March 1923) will amount to 10,000 francs. The present rate of exchange is .06 per franc - making a total cost of \$600 plus \$40 University fee and pass-port charges. It is not believed that exchange will raise before the first group of students leave but a margin above figures given should be allowed.

TUITION, BOOKS, etc.	Fr.	\$
Delaware fee		25
Tuition Universities and Alliance Francaise	1150	
Private lessons	425	
Books and library fees	300	

LIVING

2 mo . Nancy @ 600 fr.	1200
10 mo. Paris @ 600 fr.	6000
Laundry, street-car, etc. 12 mo.	720

Travel

Ocean passage <u>free</u> . To be arranged.		
Passport		10
French visa		5
Cherbourg-Paris, round trip, 2nd class	105	
Paris-Nancy, round trip, 2nd class	100	
	fr. 10000	
10000 fr. @ 6 or 7 cents		\$600 \$700

TOTALS - - - - \$640 \$740

EXTRAS. Rebates not specified. Full prices given.

4-day trip Verdun etc.	325 fr.	(\$18.50 to 22.75)
2-day trip chateau country	175	(\$10.50 to 12.25)
6-day trip Bordeaux, etc.	500	(\$30.00 to 35.00)
12-day trip Marseille, etc.	1000	(\$60.00 to 70.00)
	2000	\$120 \$140

ENDORSEMENTS OF THE PLAN BY FRENCH AND AMERICAN AUTHORITIES

Judge Berry, President of the American Chamber of Commerce in France, thoroughly approves of the plan. He has offered all the facilities of the Chamber of Commerce in Paris to help it along.

Consul-General Thackara is enthusiastic. He considers the scheme of very great national importance, and promises the hearty support of the Consulate.

Mr. Fred Singer, of the Bureau of Foreign Trade, and his brother, Mortimer Singer, of Barclay's Bank, are both lending their help.

M. Giraudoux and M. Henard, of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are very much interested, and have promised to cooperate in every way within their power both officially and individually.

M. Stephane Lanzaune, editor of the "Matin", and one of the most influential men in France, offers to aid personally in any way possible.

In the University circles, Dr. Champenois, of the Office National des Universites francaises, is giving his cooperation.

Dr. Van Dyke, of the American University Union, is thoroughly in favor of the project. He says that the scheme for personally supervised foreign study is the only one feasible for undergraduates. He went over the plans carefully and declared that every point had been anticipated; the only suggestion he could offer would be to bring the students over one month earlier, that is, the last of June instead of the last of July.

M. Dupouey, Directeur at the Alliance Francaise, is taking an enthusiastic interest, and has offered to arrange special courses at the Alliance. During the war, he was one of the leading liaison officers between the American and French armies, and was previously for five years as exchange professor in America, so he is well qualified to speak.

M. Henry Goy, an official at the Sorbonne, and M. Maurice Caudel, an official at the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques have opened the doors of these two famous institutions, and are cooperating most graciously in working out the details.

"Mr. James A. Farrell, President of the United States Steel Corporation and Chairman of the National Foreign Trade Council is very sincerely interested in our project. I first wrote him a letter outlining the plan, and Tuesday afternoon at the Continental he gave me an hour of his time in an interview that was most cordial and encouraging. He likes every detail of our plan, and says we are on the right track"

(Letter from Prof. Kirkbride, October 25)

Educating
For Global
Competence:

The Report
of the Advisory Council for
International Educational
Exchange

AUGUST 1988

COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

The Council on International Educational Exchange

The Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) was established in 1947, at the urging of the U.S. Department of State, to help reestablish student exchange after World War II. The nonprofit organization, with headquarters in New York City, maintains offices throughout the United States and in six countries abroad, from which it develops and administers a wide variety of study, work and travel programs for American and International students at the secondary, undergraduate, graduate and professional levels.

In its 41 years of work on behalf of international exchange, CIEE has observed at close range the benefits of studying and living abroad both for the individuals who participate and for those whose lives they touch when they return home. Through study abroad, students and educators begin to understand the complex social, political and economic ties interconnecting the global community.

Educating
For Global
Competence:

The Report
of the Advisory Council for
International Educational
Exchange

AUGUST 1988

The Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange

The Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange was established in 1987 as part of CIEE's commitment and effort to make a significant contribution to international education. The Council was charged to review the situation and make recommendations for the future, both for the field of educational exchange nationally and for CIEE itself.

Council members represent a wide range of experience in higher education, foreign language and international studies, public policy, federally supported educational and cultural exchange and the operational aspects of student exchange.

Advisory Council Members

Chair, Thomas A. Bartlett, Chancellor, University of Alabama

Alan Guskin, President, Antioch University

Richard Lambert, Director, National Foreign Languages Center

Ambassador Arthur Lewis, Nord Resources Corporation

Hon. Leon Panetta, U.S. House of Representatives

Adele Simmons, President, Hampshire College

Hon. Frank A. Weil, Chairman, Abacus and Associates

Ex-officio, Barbara B. Burn, Associate Provost for International Programs,
University of Massachusetts; and chair of the CIEE board

Ex-officio, Jack Egle, President-Executive Director, CIEE

Ex-officio, W. LaMarr Kopp, Deputy Vice President for International Programs,
Pennsylvania State University

Advisory Council Coordinators

Paula Spier, Academic Dean Emerita, Antioch International, Antioch University

Edith katz, Assistant Executive Director for External Affairs, CIEE

Letter of Transmittal

On behalf of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange, I am pleased to transmit our report on study abroad by American undergraduates. When we began our work, we agreed that we would concentrate on the future; what steps were needed to expand and diversify study abroad by American students. We decided simply to make the assumption that the intensely interdependent nature of the world community and the challenges to American competitiveness meant that we needed to increase the competence of our students in their knowledge of other countries and their abilities with foreign languages. On the basis of our collective experience we also made the assumption that study abroad is a vital element in a total strategy to increase student international competence.

The assumption of need is powerfully supported when one notes, as we did, the relatively small numbers studying abroad, the limited range of countries in which any significant numbers now study, and the constantly repeated reports concerning the limited knowledge and understanding of American students about other countries. We therefore consider the essential issue to be not whether we need more study abroad, but who should go and how to make it happen.

The Advisory Council then decided not to attempt a precise how-to-do-it handbook for collegial institutions since each institution will have different circumstances; at the same time, much of the report does relate to general adaptations we believe are called for by individual institutions if they wish to expand study abroad by their students. The report also notes essential roles for federal, state, and private agencies, if our national and local needs for international competence are to be met.

Finally, as a matter of efficiency and focus, we chose to concentrate on study abroad by undergraduate and first professional degree students, leaving aside the great challenge to increase opportunities for study abroad by graduate specialists.

The task of expanding study abroad is not an isolated issue, but one imbedded in the general need for a much stronger international dimension in higher education. Fortunately, the general need is increasingly being recognized and addressed. Expansion of study abroad, as an essential part of the strategy, will require initiative and support from campus leadership as well as from leadership outside higher education institutions. Our report is intended to reenforce the understanding of such leadership about how to get on with the job.

The members of the Advisory Council are grateful to CIEE for setting before us a stimulating topic and challenge. We hope our report will assist in the national effort to expand our collective competence in an interdependent world.

Thomas A. Bartlett
Chair, Advisory Council

CONTENTS

The Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange	i
Advisory Council Members	ii
Letter of Transmittal	iii
International Education for an Interdependent Competitive World	1
As Things Stand Now	2
General Recommendations	4
Who Now Studies Abroad	5
Who Should Go: Making the Study Abroad Experience Universal	8
Where They Should Go: New Attention to New Areas	9
What Involvement is Needed: Attitudes and Action	11
How to Do It: Funding and Other Strategies	14
Conclusion	16
Appendix I: Bibliography	17
Appendix II: Students on Study Abroad Programs	18
Appendix III: Public Policy Agenda for International Education	19

International Education for an Interdependent Competitive World

The role of the United States as a leader among nations is changing rapidly. Despite our position of international leadership for almost fifty years, we are ill-prepared for the changes in business, manufacturing, diplomacy, science and technology that have come with an intensely interdependent world. Effectiveness in such a world requires a citizenry whose knowledge is sufficiently international in scope to cope with global interdependence.

Other countries have had to recognize the educational implications of interdependence sooner than we, and are ahead of us in the international education of their students. Our educational system, particularly in colleges and universities, must adapt in order to develop new capacity in our people. The Advisory Council on International Educational Exchange believes that if we fail to internationalize sufficiently our educational institutions, including expansion of student opportunities for study and work abroad, we will irreversibly diminish the world status of the United States.

As Things Stand Now

Programs for study abroad have long been part of the American academic tradition— but for relatively few students, in limited fields of study, and in only slightly over half of American colleges and universities. The Advisory Council, after reviewing the major studies of international education exchange and discussing existing priorities, policy and practice, strongly and urgently recommends a major expansion of study abroad in order to improve this country's ability to meet contemporary challenges.

Provision should be made by every U.S. college and university to make available organized study abroad for increasing numbers of students from more diverse backgrounds and in all fields of study.

At the present time, there are some 350,000 foreign students studying in the U.S., while fewer than 50,000 of the approximately 12 million American college and university students study abroad each year. Citizens of other nations are learning more about us than we are about them and each year are doing so in increasing numbers. We have quite rightly welcomed these students to our own shores but have failed to encourage our own students to go abroad. We now have another kind of deficit in our "balance of education" with other countries.

Evidence of our day-to-day involvement with other nations is all around us.

- Thirty-three percent of U.S. corporate profits are generated by international trade.
- The 23 largest U.S. banks derive almost half their total earnings overseas.
- Four of every five new jobs in the U.S. are generated as a direct result of foreign trade.
- The economic well-being of the U.S. is inextricably linked to the world economy, with current U.S. investments abroad valued at more than \$300 billion.
- Foreign individuals and corporations hold investments of \$200 to \$300 billion in American manufacturing companies.

- Foreign individuals and corporations are estimated to have invested \$1.5 trillion in the U.S., most of it since 1974.

Despite the evidence of international involvement:

- The U.S. is the only major world power with no language requirement for entering its foreign service. Key posts are filled by ambassadors who do not speak the local language and cannot read the local newspaper.
- Forty percent of American foreign-area scholars cannot conduct research in the language of their specialty.
- Only three percent of American high school graduates and only five percent of our college graduates reach a meaningful proficiency in a second language—despite the fact that many of them come from bilingual homes.
- As recently as three years ago, 33 states did not require any foreign language study in high school, and one of every five high schools did not offer any foreign language instruction at all.
- The U.S. continues to be one of the only nations in the world where a student can graduate from college without ever having studied a foreign language.
- Fewer than one percent of the U.S. military personnel stationed abroad are able to use the language of their host country.
- Thirty-four states require no world history course in their high schools.

General Recommendations

To counter the serious flaws in the preparation of American education for an interdependent world, the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange is making specific recommendations, summarized here and discussed in detail:

1. The number of college students who study abroad should be increased to at least 10 percent of enrollment by 1995, with a schedule set for a further increase into the next century.
2. Special efforts should be made to identify and encourage both students from under-represented academic and social groups and students with potential leadership ability, to incorporate study abroad in their academic programs, and to do so in a greater range of subject areas.
3. Study abroad in developing countries and those outside the traditional Anglo-European settings should be a matter of high priority, with special attention to creating educational exchange programs in the Western Pacific Rim, as well as in the rest of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe.
4. Responsibility for implementing increased internationalization should be vested at the highest institutional level.

Who Now Studies Abroad

The Advisory Council has reviewed major research reports on international educational exchange that analyze the kinds and numbers of students going abroad, the institutions from which they come, the countries to which they go, and the kinds of programs they pursue. A listing of resources may be found in Appendix I. While precisely accurate statistics in this field are difficult to obtain, it is nevertheless possible to draw some specific conclusions.

Two of the major studies that the Advisory Council reviewed document the extent of international activities; the Institute of International Education's *Open Doors: 1986/87* and Jolene Koester's November 1987 *Profile of the U.S. Student Abroad—1984 and 1985* prepared for CIEE. Reporting in IIE's annual survey are 1,898 U.S. institutions, showing 48,483 students abroad out of a national enrollment of some 12,000,000. The CIEE study questioned 5,600 U.S. students purchasing the International Student Identity Card. As the chart of comparative results in Appendix II indicates, there is considerable agreement. Both report an overwhelming preponderance of women, liberal arts majors, and study in Western Europe, among students in programs sponsored by U.S. colleges and universities. Both indicate that most students spend less than six months in their foreign study programs.

The IIE survey also asked institutions about the percentages of students enrolled directly in host universities rather than in free-standing programs designed for Americans. *Open Doors* indicates that 83 percent of responding institutions sponsor free-standing programs.

Also reviewed was The American Council on Education's survey of August 1986, *Campus Trends, 1986*, Higher Education Panel Report Number 73. It reported that 64 percent of responding baccalaureate institutions and 81 percent of universities offer undergraduate study abroad in one or more locations. Forty-nine percent of the colleges and 73 percent of the universities sponsor programs in Western Europe, 16 percent and 32 percent respectively in Asia. Only 18 percent of colleges and 12 percent of universities reported that more than 10 percent of their undergraduates study abroad. There is no report of the percentages of enrolled students by geographic areas.

As postulated in the 1985 *Study Abroad: A European and an American Perspective*, by Asa Briggs and Barbara Burn, these numbers are growing slowly. In 1980 there were only 30,000 U.S. students studying in U.S. sponsored programs abroad. Then, as now, they were predominantly humanities and social studies majors, with professional fields such as business increasing slightly. The overwhelming majority was going to Western Europe.

Students who study abroad are from a narrow spectrum of the total population. They are predominately white females from highly educated professional families, majoring in the social sciences or humanities. They are high achievers and risk-takers. Many have had earlier overseas travel or international experience. Whether by their own choice or lack of encouragement to do so, there are fewer men, members of minority groups, students from nonprofessional and less-educated families, or science, education or business majors among undergraduates who study abroad.

Perhaps the most obvious barrier to study abroad comes from a misconception on the part of families, students themselves and their home institutions; that study abroad is not an achievable option.

There is also the perception, often not accurate, that study abroad adds materially to educational costs, thus preventing some who would otherwise be interested from considering it seriously. Ironically, the academic and professional fields that are by nature most universal in scope—mathematics, the sciences, engineering, business and management, public health—tend to draw the fewest undergraduates to study abroad.

Part-time and older students, now a third of all American undergraduates, find it particularly difficult to plan for a semester or a year abroad because of expenses or family responsibilities, or both. Many students in this category are in community colleges, from which traditionally relatively few students have participated in study abroad programs.

The Advisory Council believes that policies for active recruiting, financing and program planning should be designed that draw students from a much greater cross-section in society, of economic level and ethnic orientation. In addition, more men and more students of sciences, engineering, business and education need to study abroad.

Special measures are needed to seek out the most talented students and make it possible for them to have a significant educational experience abroad. Recruitment, selection, funding and program planning should deliberately identify students with high academic achievement and those most likely to become leaders in campus and community life, and in their future professions. The benefits derived from study abroad for these students will not only be for themselves and their careers, but perhaps even more importantly for their associates, communities, professions and for our nation as a whole.

Four-year colleges and universities which draw their enrollment largely from black and other minority groups face a special challenge. While it is clearly in the national interest to have internationally skilled students from the widest possible range of backgrounds, present indications are that institutions with preponderantly black enrollments are sending relatively few students abroad.

The Advisory Council believes that the recommendations to be found in this report, including those urging an international dimension in academic preparation for fields such as business and the sciences, together with improvement in financial aid and funding policies, must be taken particularly seriously by institutions now under-represented in study abroad.

The traditional "grand tour," part of the education of a small segment of young Americans in the past, and the more recent "junior year abroad," focused on the European cultural heritage and was most applicable to liberal arts and humanities students. Now global competence for our citizens requires us to expand study abroad into other areas; mathematics, science, medicine, business and industry, technology, international affairs, economics and education—so that our students can learn in these fields from teachers abroad, from observation of these professions in other countries and from a broader perspective on American ideas and practices in these fields.

Who Should Go: Making the Study Abroad Experience Universal

Every American college and university is urged to put in operation an organized and evaluated provision for study abroad by the year 1995. *The number of college students who study abroad, now estimated at less than 5 percent of total enrollment, should be increased to at least 10 percent by 1995.* The European Community has already set its goal at ten percent. In an ideal world every student would have an international experience. That Advisory Council does not expect that, even in the future, every American student will study abroad, but urges that every institution of higher learning define its educational priorities so that every student will have an opportunity to do so. After doubling the number of students in study-abroad programs by 1995 to 10 percent, a realistic goal would be an increase to 20-25 percent by 2008—with a continuing increase in numbers into the mid-century.

Where They Should Go: New Attention to New Areas

Study abroad in developing countries and countries outside the traditional Anglo-European settings should be a matter of high priority, with special attention to educational exchange in the Western Pacific as well as in the rest of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin American and Eastern Europe.

The overwhelming majority of U.S. students abroad are in Western Europe. This is neither good public policy nor good education. That is not to say the number should be reduced. On the contrary, traditional associates with Western Europe are a vital part of our educational processes, providing essential insight into our own culture and history, as well as contemporary academic disciplines. The problem is that too few students are going to other parts of the world.

It is absolutely essential that college students cultivate an informed and sensitive awareness of those parts of the world in which more than half the global population lives: we need to be sure that our students learn about Latin America as well as Spain, French-speaking Africa as well as France. It is vital to our national interests and therefore our educational interests that American students learn how to co-exist with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. At present, the Middle East and the Arab world seem to be nearly as incomprehensible to many Americans as life on another planet.

Most chronicles of study abroad programs separate the world into "Western Europe" and "Third World" or "developing" countries. The Advisory Council believes that this separation needs to be reinterpreted in light of current national concerns. Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and other countries of the Pacific are not "Third World" in the sense that they are underdeveloped, but neither are they "Western" in the historical and cultural sense of Europe and North America. Some are providing us our greatest economic challenge and some are sending us our newest immigrants. We need to learn about these societies for immediate practical reasons. The United States cannot continue to deal from a position of ignorance with people who have such an impact on us. *The Advisory Council therefore*

recommends expanding opportunities for study abroad in all areas outside Western Europe, but particularly in Japan and other countries of the Pacific Rim.

Geographic expansion in study abroad has been slow for a variety of reasons. Many colleges and universities simply have not realized that opportunities exist in other areas. Some may justifiably feel they lack sufficient experience to start programs in new areas and may not have, or may not be aware of, faculty expertise that may exist on their campuses. Their curricula may not be designed to incorporate or accommodate such study. Foreign academic systems and facilities may be perceived as inadequate, inhospitable or not matching up with their own structure, and therefore not conducive to an effective learning environment for American students. Even where programs are available, the low level of foreign language competency among American students limits participation.

These are all soluble problems once the national, institutional and individual commitments are made. Efforts directed at increasing the geographical distribution of study abroad will require at least as much understanding, commitment and effort as those aimed at increasing the numbers and kinds of students involved.

Institutional cooperation, consortia, and outside expertise may be useful and necessary for institutions opening up opportunities for study in the developing world and in other areas outside Western Europe.

What Involvement is Needed: Attitudes and Action

Leadership for change in international education must come from U.S. colleges and universities; it is they who have the major responsibility for defining educational needs. They must be committed, at the highest possible level, to incorporating study abroad as an essential tool in realizing their total mission. Such commitment and conviction must come from college and university presidents and senior officials, from their governing boards, and in some cases, from legislative bodies that help shape—and fund—policies.

Many colleges and universities may need to make substantial adjustments in their procedures and priorities during the next ten years to make their commitment to international education explicit and tangible. The Advisory Council recommends that new institutional structures be put in place to ensure that support for such work has stability and continuity over time. One means might be the explicit assignment of the responsibility to a high academic officer.

Policies for faculty hiring, evaluation and reward can and should be adjusted to reflect recognition of the importance of international experience. Study abroad requires a structure of instructors, advisers, policy-makers and program leaders who are committed to the program. This is particularly urgent in business studies, education and the sciences. At present, professional academic advancement is clearly hindered at many institutions and in many fields by time spent abroad, particularly for pre-tenure instructors. Such institutional barriers will need to be modified. The goal should be *a high level of internationalization of the faculty*.

An inventory of language teaching capabilities should be made by institutions aiming at increasing study abroad. More emphasis may be needed on spoken language training. Previously unoffered studies of the language, history and culture of areas and countries may become necessary to open new vistas of international exchange; consortial arrangements with other institutions for reciprocally sharing such capacity may be needed to ensure efficiency.

New ways of teaching language may become appropriate: intensive summer programs, cooperation with other institutions, supervised independent study,

training in the host country, and the encouragement of language study at an earlier age are some of the possibilities.

Quality and standards will require special attention when study abroad is expanded effectively. Systematic review and evaluation of overseas study programs should take place within American higher education institutions. The members of professional organizations such as CIEE and the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) have considered and adopted detailed guidelines and standards for the internationalization of U.S. colleges and universities, and the management and evaluation of study abroad programs. A listing of these documents is included in Appendix I. The Advisory Council strongly recommends that they be used as guides to the institutional self-evaluation which is crucially necessary. Regional and professional accrediting organizations will need to act in conjunction with colleges and universities to consider international factors in evaluating professional standards—perhaps even including opportunities for international experience as a requirement.

The internationalization of faculties and students will cause institutions to change curricula and attitudes about curricula. Institutional provisions for credits, grades, time and course requirements should be revamped to encourage foreign study or other overseas experiences such as internships. Institutions should encourage—or even require—all departments and schools within the university to include statements in their catalog on how study abroad can be incorporated into the course of study. Study abroad must be seen as a complement to, and an enrichment of, home campus offerings, rather than an exact substitution. The Council strongly believes that all this is a prerequisite to achieving national educational goals.

Faculty expertise, credit and admissions policies, curriculum and institutional goals for study abroad should all be reviewed for their impact on the recruitment and admission of foreign students for American campuses as well as for our students on foreign campuses.

Academic systems, practices, resources and expectations vary widely around the world. As they move into new areas, program planners need to be especially

sensitive to local situations in order to take full advantage of unique opportunities, and at the same time, meet the needs of American students and institutions.

The Advisory Council notes that longer periods abroad are more effective in educating Americans about other cultures, improving language competence and enhancing ability to function across international boundaries. A minimum of three months is suggested; semester programs can be very effective; full-year programs, especially when integrated into host universities; are best of all.

The more that American students function as individuals adapting to their host countries, the more they will learn. For that reason the Council believes firmly that whenever possible students should be integrated into host universities rather than placed in free-standing programs for Americans. Even in an integrated situation it is desirable to build in learning components that provide personal immersion. If a free-standing program is necessary, it becomes even more essential to provide culture-learning opportunities such as homestays, internships or directed field studies. Specific standards for effective overseas programming can be found in some of the publications listed in Appendix I.

Program structures, educational goals and appropriate student participants will vary broadly among institutions of higher education in the United States. There are many acceptable models for institutionally sponsored study abroad. The Advisory Council believes it would be counterproductive to recommend any one set of criteria or institutional models to meet these differing goals and resources.

Deliberate evaluation and further research must be carried out on study abroad, with regard to actual numbers and categories of students, where they go, what they do and how they do it, and the extent to which their programs meet the objectives of their institutions.

Information about and advising for study abroad should be readily available. Administrative structures to facilitate the planning, execution, evaluation and crediting of institutionally sponsored and individually arranged programs are essential. In most cases study abroad offices should be part of the academic side of the institution. They are then more likely to function at the level of institutional

credibility with administrators, instructors and academic advisers, which is essential to attract a larger and more varied student population and expand study beyond Europe.

How to Do It: Funding and Other Strategies

What may be seen today as lack of funding for study abroad must not be allowed to impede the principal goals of international education: cross-cultural awareness, an internationally informed citizenry and a population of professionals well prepared for careers in fields of worldwide activity. National interests and academic policy clearly justify special funding for study abroad that contributes to those goals. Responsibility for aspects of study abroad must be shared among federal and state governments, private organizations, educational institutions, and students themselves.

The policies of each body providing financial aid should ensure that financial aid for students at their home institutions will continue while they are participating in study abroad programs approved for credit by their institution.

Special federal honor awards should be made available to encourage highly talented undergraduates with demonstrable leadership qualities to study abroad, with the size of awards to be based primarily on financial need.

Special funding should be provided to encourage study in hitherto neglected geographical areas and to attract students in disciplines not now well represented in overseas study: science and technology, business and education.

The states have a particular responsibility to recognize the long-term benefits of a citizenry with international competence. For their teachers, study abroad can provide new vitality in the classrooms, stimulating interest in and knowledge of the world beyond our boundaries. States should also recognize the economic advantages of a pool of potential employees better able to relate to their counterparts in other countries.

Senior administrators of schools, colleges and universities must be the leaders in developing revenues for study abroad. It is they who are most likely to persuade trustees, legislatures, alumni, foundations and corporate donors that there is a critical national need to support this essential aspect of American education.

Financial aid officers must be assured that federal and institutional grants can follow a student on a foreign study program. That will only be possible when

governmental guidelines are clear, consistent, and uniformly interpreted, and when senior institutional officers make it evident that institutional priorities include financing of study abroad for all qualified students.

As part of their commitment to international education—and its foundation, study abroad for undergraduates—colleges and universities should be prepared to redirect internal funds in ways to make it possible. And they will also need, in some degree, to redirect their development efforts in ways that attract support from businesses that have an interest in

future citizens and employees with a better sense of the world beyond our national boundaries.

Institutions that cannot marshal adequate resources for study abroad may accomplish the goal by flexibility and willingness to join in cooperative arrangements with others. That may mean sharing a language instructor with a nearby college, arranging for intensive, perhaps summertime courses at another institution, or approving credit and continuing financial aid for overseas studies done through another institution, consortium or other approved organization.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Advisory Council recognizes that it has called for fundamental changes in American higher education. These changes will be the responsibility of colleges and universities across the country, of specialists in international education and their professional organizations, and of federal and state funding programs, accrediting associations, foundations, corporations and others in the private sector.

All must recognize the need for increased and widespread knowledge of other countries as a matter of vital national interest. International awareness must be placed high on the list of institutional and national priorities. Internationalization of higher education including study abroad is no longer merely desirable; it is a necessity. We can no longer view the world with some detachment as an interesting and diverse place where we inevitably exercise political leadership. We must realize, and thus prepare for, our intense interdependence with other countries. Every day, great numbers of our citizens deal with problems and decisions arising from relationships with people in other parts of the world. Our standard of living, our security and our nation's prestige are all at stake. We must better prepare ourselves to live in such a world.

APPENDIX I

Bibliography

Briggs, Asa and Barbara Burn. *Study Abroad: A European and an American Perspective, Organization and Impact of Study Abroad, No. 1*, European Institute of Education and Social Policy, Paris, 1985.

Guidelines: Incorporating an International Dimension in Colleges and Universities, American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Washington, DC, 1985.

El-Kahwas, Elaine. *Campus Trends, 1986: Higher Education Panel Report Number 73*, American Council on Education, Washington, DC, August 1983.

Koester, Jolene. *A Profile of the U.S. Student Abroad—1984 and 1985*, Council on International Educational Exchange, New York, November 1987.

NAFSA Principles for International Exchange, National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, Washington, DC, 1983.

NAFSA Program of Self-Regulation: Bibliography for Participating Institutions, National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, Washington, DC, 1985.

Study Abroad: Handbook for Advisers and Administrators, National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, Washington, DC, 1979.

Study Abroad Programs: An Evaluation Guide, American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, and the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, Washington, DC, May 1979.

The United States Prepares for its Future: Report of the Study Commission on Global Education, Global Perspectives in Education, New York, May 1987.

To Secure the Blessings of Liberty, American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Washington, DC, November 1986.

Zikopoulos, Marianthi (ed.) *Open Doors: 1986/87*, Report on International Educational Exchange, Institute of International Education, New York, 1987.

APPENDIX II

Students on Study Abroad Programs

Percentages reported in IIE's *Open Doors* and CIEE's *Profile of the U.S. Student Abroad*

	IIE	CIEE
Gender		
Male	36	31
Female	64	69
Field of Study		
All Liberal Arts	63	56
Science	9	9
Business	11	17
Education	4	4
Geographic Site*		
Europe	80	85
Asia	6	2
Latin America	7	2
Other	7	11

*Neither study separated the developed Pacific Rim countries from the rest of Asia. It is also appropriate to state that the International Student Identity Card is more likely to be purchased by students going to Europe than to other parts of the world, and the CIEE results for Asia and Latin America need to be considered in that context.

APPENDIX III

Public Policy Agenda for International Education

The Advisory Council has considered possible means by which legislative or other public policy action could enhance and expand international exchange and makes the following recommendations:

Major Goals

- *Establish a National Foundation for International Education* to maintain, coordinate and enhance a national program in the international education area. Detailed proposals for such a foundation have already been made. The Foundation would maintain major international exchange and domestic foreign language and international studies activities. It would include major new components dedicated to international business and developing nations studies. It would be under the congressional jurisdiction of both education and foreign affairs committees, and would have close administrative links with both the Department of Education and the U.S. Information Agency and/or the Department of State.
- *Provide Incentive Scholarships for Study in Pacific Rim and Developing Nations* to encourage more U.S. students to study in a broader range of nations throughout the world. the program would both provide U.S. Government funds and allow foreign contributions in lieu of payment of uncollected debt to the U.S. Government.
- *Create a Federal/State International Exchange Partnership* along the lines proposed by the Inter-American Scholarship Partnership Act (S. 852). However, the program should not be limited to exchanges with Central America and the Caribbean and should allow for study abroad grants for students of participating states as well as grants for foreign students to study in participating states.

- *Set in Place Statutory Goals for Expansion of Major U.S. Government Exchange Programs* along the lines of the Pell Amendment (Section 305 of PL 97-241). By fiscal year 1992 provisions would call for a doubling of funds for exchange programs from fiscal year 1988 levels.

Additional Goals

- *Rescind Taxation of Scholarships and Fellowships* to encourage more U.S. students and faculty to have international experience.
- *Enact Legislation Establishing International Business Education Centers on U.S. College and University Campuses* as proposed in HR 1875, S. 841 and the omnibus trade bills (HR3, S. 490, S. 1420). The centers would, as proposed, offer internship programs abroad for students and faculty.
- *Provide Funds for New Intensive Summer Foreign Language Institutes* authorized by the Higher Education Act Amendments of 1986 (PL 99-498).
- *Provide Unjustifiable Travel Controls Through Currency and Other Restrictions* which inhibit Americans' freedom to travel and limit options for study abroad (as proposed by HR 1719).
- *Correct Substantial Administrative Problems Preventing Application of Federal Financial Aid to Study Abroad* for thousands of students in U.S. colleges and universities.

A National Mandate
for
Education Abroad:

Getting on with the Task

Report of the
National Task Force on
Undergraduate Education Abroad
May 1990

National Task Force on Undergraduate Study Abroad

Co-Chairs:

Barbara B. Burn
University of Massachusetts - Amherst

Ralph H. Smuckler
Michigan State University

Members:

Peggy Blumenthal
Institute of International Education

Jack Egle
Council on International Educational Exchange

Mary Anne Grant
International Student Exchange Program

Joseph Tulchin
University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

Table of Contents

Introduction: Task Force Purpose and Focus

Summary of Recommendations

Chapters

- I. Recommendation 1: Expand Education Abroad
- II. Recommendation 2: Increase Diversity
- III. Recommendation 3: Develop Program Approaches
- IV. Recommendation 4: Attack Major Inhibitors
- V. Recommendation 5: Address Financial Options
- VI. Towards Action

References

Appendices

INTRODUCTION

The role of the United States as a leader among nations is changing rapidly. Despite our position of international leadership for almost fifty years, we are ill-prepared for the changes in business, manufacturing, diplomacy, science and technology that have come with an intensely interdependent world. Effectiveness in such a world requires a citizenry whose knowledge is sufficiently international in scope to cope with global interdependence.(1)

Task Force Purpose and Focus

At the very moment when dramatic changes in the world cause our nation to re-evaluate priorities and to search for policies and alignments which will serve our people in the new century, our position of international leadership among nations is rapidly shifting. The extraordinary events of 1989 rank as markers of human history comparable to those of 1848, 1914 and 1945. Without warning, the comfortable dimensions of the present convulsed and the world transformed itself in unimagined ways. Many of the goals of more than forty years of American foreign policy were realized in a matter of months. The United States, the Soviet Union, Europe, indeed the entire world, grapple with fundamental role changes as we all enter this new period in history, one that is full of possibility and hope.

Yet, in the United States, Optimism about this new world is tempered by anxiety created not only by uncertainty about events still to unfold but also by our ability to rise to these new challenges. There is abundant evidence that our citizens are not well prepared for the international realities ahead. By any measure, whether it be comparisons of foreign language proficiency, tests of geographic literacy, or availability of specialists to advise government or business regarding Eastern Europe or other distant but important parts of the world, the level of international knowledge and understanding in our country is wanting. In comparison with others, we as a people are poorly educated to deal with the political, economic and social issues which we will face in a new global era that will not measure strength primarily in terms of military preparedness.

In fact, for the past several years, there has been growing acknowledgement that education must provide more international content and lead to greater sensitivity and understanding. For undergraduates at our universities and colleges, a serious educational experience in another country brings cross-cultural understanding and international learning not achievable through almost any

(1)Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange, Educating for Global Competence, p.1

other approach. Opportunities for such experience abroad are still confined to a small fraction of American undergraduates, mainly upper middle class, and still focus predominantly on Western Europe and on study of the humanities and social sciences. Study abroad opportunities largely neglect the rest of the world and internationally important professional fields. At a time when American citizens and professionals in most fields require much more international knowledge, the narrow scope of undergraduate education abroad constitutes a grave neglect of extremely important needs and limits opportunities to a select few.

It was to address this situation that the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) invited the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), and the Institute of International Education (IIE) to join it in forming the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad. The Task Force was established in June 1989 and adopted the following mandate:

- To make undergraduate study and other academically related experiences abroad a higher national priority, with particular reference to such specific needs as increasing financial support, greater diversity of opportunity and program participation, and the assurance of program quality.
- To initiate and introduce language in existing legislation that will facilitate and expand undergraduate study abroad, develop new legislation at the state and federal levels, and explore and support non-legislative/governmental avenues of funding.
- To develop an action agenda for the exchange field and the broader higher education community and involve these constituencies in the advocacy and implementation of the Task Force's recommendation.

Crucial to the work of the Task Force were the accomplishments of the "Bartlett Committee," a nationally distinguished group appointed by CIEE and named for its chair, Thomas A. Bartlett, to review and make recommendations on future priorities for study abroad. We, the members of the Task Force, fully support the priorities set forth by that committee in its 1988 report, Educating for Global Competence, and have defined as our own agenda advocating and facilitating their implementation. Chief among them are: a major expansion of undergraduate education abroad, greatly increased access for minority and other under-represented students, and correction of the grossly disproportionate involvement of Western European program sites compared to all the rest of the world.

Although the Task Force (2) expect to function actively for only a year, making undergraduate education abroad a higher national priority will require the ongoing support of many. Crucial to this effort will be the follow-up activities of the sponsoring organizations: CIEE, IIE, and NAFSA as well as others involved in the process. If such efforts are catalyzed by the Task Force and some progress achieved before its work is done, the substantial commitment of our sponsors will have been well justified.

The establishment of the National Task Force reflects and should strengthen the mounting awareness that study abroad is one of the most effective means to achieve international education for undergraduates and the internationalization of colleges and universities. Although in the past undergraduate study abroad may have in some instances been deficient in academic substance and

(2)The Task Force members are listed in Appendix A. Contributing to our work have been five "resource persons" plus the representatives of organizations and associations invited to serve in a "sounding board" capacity--see Appendix B.

lacked institutional and national support, its importance is now beginning to be more widely recognized in the United States. Some recent events and trends reinforce this development.

In reaching its conclusions the Task Force benefitted and drew on a large number of recent studies and reports which have targeted the need to strengthen international education and exchange. Our primary inspiration came from the earlier mentioned CIEE report, Educating for Global Competence. The more significant recent studies and reports which represent the mounting awareness of the value of an international educational experience are listed in the reference section.

One of these studies, however, should be mentioned here because of its findings on the results of study abroad. A five-county, five-year study(3), for which the U.S. report will be published in summer 1990, compellingly documents the major impacts of study abroad in terms of students' international learning, interests, and career aims: the U.S. students substantially increased foreign language proficiency; after their sojourn abroad their knowledge of their host country increased dramatically, as did their interest in and knowledge of international affairs; a majority of the American study abroad returnees planned on careers that would benefit from the knowledge and perspectives gained from their period abroad.

An additional and important point of further reference for the Task Force was its understanding of the impressive educational goals of ERASMUS(4), the European Community program aimed at ensuring that by 1992, ten percent of EC university students can afford and will have a significant study abroad experience in another EC country. ERASMUS will prepare European students not only for the professional, commercial, technical, linguistic, academic, and diplomatic needs of a united Europe, but also for performing effectively in the world market of ideas and trade. According to the most recent data available(5), hardly two percent of American undergraduates study abroad for academic credit, a percentage far below the ERASMUS goal of ten percent by 1992. In the view of the Task Force, American higher education must also vigorously meet this latter challenge.

The Task Force Focus. While focussing on the undergraduate level, the Task Force explicitly recognizes the importance of opportunities for study and other experiences abroad at all levels of American education, from secondary school to graduate school and post graduate research; for students, teachers, and scholars. But we believe that it is the internationalization of the undergraduate experience which can have the greatest impact on American society in terms of life long interests and values. Moreover, while the main emphasis of this report concerns formal study abroad programming organized and overseen by colleges and universities or by consortia of higher education institutions, the Task Force is convinced that international work or service experiences, as well as other forms of immersion in the daily life of a foreign culture, can contribute greatly to a student's formal academic and/or pre-professional education and understanding of the world, even if this educational gain is not measured in terms of academic credit

(3)Carlson, Burn, Useem, Yachimowicz, Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates

(4)European Regional Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students

(5)M. Zikopoulos, ed., Open Doors 1988-89: Report on International Educational Exchange

Summary of Recommendations

The work of the Task Force has resulted in five major recommendations. Each recommendation is treated in more detail in one of the following five chapters, and they are presented here in summary form. Taken together, they will greatly enhance the contribution of overseas study abroad programs to the internationalization of the higher education experience of undergraduates.

Expansion of Education Abroad. By the year 2000, ten percent of American college and university students should have a significant educational experience during their undergraduate years. Achieving this will require substantial growth in the number and type of opportunities provided and a more pervasive integration of education abroad into institutional strategies aimed at strengthening the international dimension in U.S. higher education.

Increased Diversity. As numbers and opportunities are expanded we urge that greater diversity be a major goal for all aspects of education abroad: greater diversity in participating students, in foreign locations, and in types of programs.

Circular Connections. The study abroad experience must be integrated into regular degree programs in many different fields including professional schools. In some fields, study abroad should become a requirement, for example, for future foreign language teachers in elementary and secondary schools.

Major Inhibitors. A variety of factors inhibit expansion of numbers and diversity in undergraduate education abroad. Some are historical; others are tied to negative perceptions. We urge that all be vigorously addressed. They include:

- Insufficient institutional commitment to international education.
- Negative views of some faculty members.
- Restrictive curricular requirements.
- Foreign Language deficiencies.
- Inadequate study abroad support services on campus and abroad.
- Inadequate information about education abroad opportunities and their relative quality.
- Financial regulations and shortfalls.

Financial Options. While lack of money is not always the main obstacle to program development or student participation, expanded funding from both private and public sources will be essential if the academic community is to diversify the types of institutions, students, and experiences involved in study abroad in the years ahead.

CHAPTER I

Expansion of Education Abroad

In order to enhance the impact of study abroad on the internationalization of U.S. colleges and universities, the goals set forth in Educating for Global Competence must be implemented. Chief among them is: participation in study abroad by ten percent of all undergraduates by 1995, and, for the longer term, twenty to twenty-five percent by the year 2008, two decades after the CIEE committee completed its report. The rationale for these goals merits repeating:

"It is absolutely essential that college students cultivate an informed and sensitive awareness of those parts of the world in which more than half the global population lives...

...The intensely interdependent nature of the world community and the challenges to American competitiveness mean that we need to increase the competence of students in their knowledge of other countries and their abilities with foreign languages."

An educational experience in a foreign setting certainly contributes significantly to this increased knowledge and competency, and yet, according to IIE figures, the number of students receiving credit for studying abroad in 1987-88 was only 62,341. Although this figure omits data from some non-responding institutions, it nevertheless documents that only a tiny fraction of America's more than 12.5 million college and university students have a study abroad experience.

The expansion of education abroad is urgent for the following reasons:

- The impact of study abroad is far greater if substantial numbers of students rather than the occasional few participate. Only then does the experience produce important multiplier effects on home campus curricula and teaching and on students' academic and personal goals and achievements.
- Americans must, like their European and Japanese student counterparts, learn to function professionally across national boundaries. The United States cannot afford to lag in preparing future professionals for the internationally involved careers that await them.

The National Task Force strongly urges American colleges and universities to integrate study abroad into their institutional strategies for strengthening not only international education but also the quality of their overall academic programs. Study and other educational experiences abroad, as part of the internationalization of undergraduates programs, should play a much more central role in what colleges and universities are all about: in their missions and goals, in their institutional structures and policies, in their educational programming and planning, and in their allocations of staff and other resources.

CHAPTER II

Increasing Diversity

Ensuring that at least ten percent of U.S. students have an educational experience abroad requires more than mere linear increases in what now exists. Recruiting more undergraduates must involve a wider spectrum of students studying in a wide range of geographic destinations and new and different program models.

Geographic Locations. The overwhelming dominance of Western Europe in U.S. study abroad programming, while historically understandable, is no longer compatible with the nation's needs in international education. To function as citizens and professionals in a shrinking world, American students should learn about all of it, not just the Anglo-European countries. At the same time it must be recognized that study abroad in many countries and regions outside of Western Europe can present American students with a variety of difficult challenges: unfamiliarity with the host country's culture and language/s; enormous competition among host country students a limited number of places in higher education; major differences in accommodations, student services; different approaches to teaching and learning; smaller library and fewer academic facilities; and unfamiliar student social interaction. These kinds of differences make it especially important to revise program models for study abroad and to develop new ones, especially for Third World country sites.

The National Task Force urges as a short-term target that undergraduate study outside of Western Europe be expanded to at least one-third of all study abroad students. At present more American undergraduates study in the United Kingdom alone than the total of all in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. To reach this new goal, these major world regions must see a doubling of American undergraduates pursuing education abroad.

Minority Student Participation. Efforts to expand the number of undergraduates who study abroad must address the lack of diversity among them. Traditionally American study abroad students have come from affluent, middle or upper class, white, professional families rather than from the broad spectrum of American society. Even though minority enrollments in American colleges and universities have increased overall by eight percent in 1984-86, and in 1986 represented ten percent of all four-year college students, minority participation in study abroad has increased little, representing only a tiny fraction of all undergraduate study abroad students.

Because as stated in Educating for Global Competence, "it is clearly in the national interest to have internationally skilled students from the widest possible range of backgrounds," recruiting the under-represented minorities, especially Blacks and Hispanics, to study abroad calls for special measures, not least of which may be special funding.

CHAPTER III

Developing Program Approaches

Forging Curricular Connections. The existence of few or no connections between home campus curricula and what students study abroad is an important deterrent to study abroad for American students.(6) Students that do not study abroad give as reasons their perception that it did not fit with or was not required by their major, might prolong their degree period, and was not encouraged or was even explicitly discouraged by their faculty advisers.

Study abroad can enroll substantially more undergraduates only if it is clear that their studies abroad will both earn them academic credit and will be treated as an integral part of their degree program and an asset to it. In particular, a study abroad period should be treated as part of, rather than apart from, their studies for their major. It is ironic that in the United States where the academic credit system facilitates the recognition of studies done elsewhere, students in many disciplines find this difficult or impossible with respect to requirements for their major. In Western Europe, even with only an incipient system of academic credit, ERASMUS enables many EC students who study in another EC country to have their work treated as an integral part of their home campus degree.

In order to strengthen study abroad's connections with home campus curricula, the following steps are needed:

- Students should have greater access to information on study abroad opportunities, including specific courses, in order to plan their study abroad far enough in advance so that it can be incorporated into and not extend their degree period.
- American faculty members and undergraduate advisers should have sufficient information on courses their students wish to take abroad to counsel them on courses that will count towards the degree and to encourage them to study abroad.
- To integrate study abroad more closely into home campus curricula and reduce the sense of alienation many returnees experience on returning to campus, faculty should attempt to build on students' international learning, developing or modifying courses in which such students tend to enroll.
- Colleges and universities should encourage an academically related experience abroad as an option in all degree programs.

Subjects Throughout the Curriculum. If more students are to have educational experiences abroad, program opportunities must become much more varied in subject or discipline focus. Rather than being primarily in humanities and social sciences fields, education abroad opportunities must be targeted across disciplines. Obvious fields are public health, education (including practice teaching abroad), architecture, environmental studies, and hotel and travel administration, but business and

(6)Carlson, et. al., Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates

engineering, because of their large enrollments and the rapid internationalization of careers in these fields, must also be priorities.

Major constraints to including study abroad in such fields as engineering and business are the tight curricular requirements, including sequencing, which leave little flexibility for students. The Task Force believes, however, that early and careful planning should, given faculty encouragement, enable more of these students to study abroad. The fact that some professional schools in the United States not only make it possible but encourage their majors to study abroad suggests that this is indeed a realistic goal.

New Models. In expanding study abroad to encompass ten percent of all undergraduates and diversify both participants and destinations, merely replicating and multiplying current program models is unrealistic and inappropriate. For students who are older, of minority background, employed (46.5 percent of full-time students under 25 years are employed at least part-time), are disabled, or have limited funds, study abroad often is not perceived to be an option. The needs of such students are mostly ignored by the more typical study abroad models and structures. The Task Force cannot prescribe the new models for greatly expanded and diversified education abroad. These must be developed pragmatically by individual institutions, consortia, or other appropriate organizations. However, features to consider include more short-term stays, flexible language requirements, "no-fee swapping" of students between U.S. and foreign institutions, and built-in student work or service components that reduce costs.

An important model for diversifying education abroad is work experience in another country which puts students in close contact with the local people and culture. Undergraduate student interest in work experiences abroad is increasing rapidly and certainly at a faster rate than study abroad program participation. Nevertheless, little interest in support for these students has been shown by much of the international education and academic communities, who confine their attention to academic programs and may wrongly dismiss experiential learning as of little educational value. Internships, various types of cooperative education arrangements, voluntary service and independent study/research projects are among approaches which could either generate academic credit or be academically or professionally relevant to degree programs at the home institution.

For students preferring to work abroad rather than pursue formal courses, whether for reasons of finance or other motivation, the many opportunities now available, for example through CIEE and the various other organizations which facilitate work abroad, should be brought to students' attention, and be further expanded. Other possible models would be service in an undergraduate Peace Corps, working as undergraduate teaching assistants in schools or colleges abroad, or participating in workcamps and other kinds of volunteer activities.

CHAPTER IV

Attacking Major Inhibitors

The Task Force identified seven factors which stand in the way of expansion of and improved quality in undergraduate study abroad. While there is some overlap among them, each impediment is sufficiently separate from the others to call for a different treatment and strategy, either at the institutional level or more broadly. They must be addressed.

First, the lack of institutional commitment to a strong international dimension in undergraduate education is a serious impediment at some colleges and universities. Without such a commitment--that is, a determination to adjust and tune undergraduate learning to the multi-cultural and global realities of the decade ahead--there will be little institutional encouragement for students to study abroad and for faculty members to organize new programs.

National associations and organizations are helping to build commitment, reinforced by an impressive array of national commission pronouncements, state governors' recommendations and the general search for excellence in education. Many institutions, in spite of strained financial circumstances, are studying their international educational needs, often in the context of a review of the core undergraduate curriculum.

Substantial momentum now exists toward attaining a greater international dimension in higher education. For example, a recent national initiative, the Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies (CAFLIS) consists of 160 regional and national organizations, both large and small, seeking to improve international education and enhance the nation's competence to deal with global issues. Yet, there are still some colleges and universities which have not embraced such commitments and others which have done so superficially. The Task force encourages the faculty and students at these institutions to push hard for a more vigorous international commitment, one which includes undergraduate study abroad as a means to accomplish curricular and educational ends.

The strategy will vary among colleges and universities, faculties, departments, and disciplines. The authors of a report which canvassed a cross-section of institutions in four selected states note the following:

We were struck repeatedly by the importance of a charismatic leader in galvanizing a campus to focus on and undertake study abroad. Usually the key person is the president, but it also may be a provost, dean, state governor, system chancellor, or even some dynamic senior faculty member. Enormous resources are not required to make study abroad work; what are usually lacking where such a program does not exist are vision, a sense of commitment, and a clarion call to action.(7)

We urge persistence on the part of those who are already committed, but whose institution may be laggard. Persistence, enlisting internal and external allies, pushing for creation of a review committee and strategic planning to take advantage of opportunities and normal information flow are

(7)Goodwin and Nacht, Abroad and Beyond: Patterns in American Overseas Education,p.60.

all important. These endeavors must be taken with a thorough knowledge of and sensitivity to the institution's governance structure.

Even with general institutional commitment, attitudes of individual faculty and those prevailing in some departments can be a problem, sometimes even a severe obstacle to forming new programs or encouraging student participation. The explanation for lack of faculty support includes such inglorious reasons as inertia and the egocentric "what's in it for me." Less crass but equally parochial--and more prevalent--is the attitude among some faculty, even those who ought to be among the strongest proponents of study abroad, that study abroad deprives them of their best students, actually taking students out of their classrooms and reducing their full time equivalent statistics. But, by far the most frequent cause of lack of faculty interest in or opposition to study programs is that they are not perceived to be relevant to or supportive of what faculty do. Faculty often do not recognize the academic legitimacy of the students' activities abroad. In support of their position, faculty members cite student reports selectively, for example, those asserting that students' experience abroad was not as rigorous academically as their experience on the campus.

One approach to winning the support of faculty is to design study abroad programs with particular faculty in mind and to begin to plan new programs with them. For example, professional school faculty who typically are suspicious of study abroad opportunities. Because they perceive them as detracting from pre-professional training should be asked to identify the off-campus experience that might enhance the preparation of students in his or her field. Responses that point toward greater knowledge of Japanese culture or business practices, or the implications of the European Community in 1992 for U.S. society should become the starting point for planning a new course or a program in Japan or Europe. Faculty should participate in program planning, course design, and site selection, and then help fit the program into the curriculum and form part of an advisory committee to the program. Faculty can be similarly involved in programs calling for direct enrollment in foreign institutions or the design of appropriate internships. Quite naturally they will become advocates for such study abroad experiences in their classrooms and potential future resident directors, as well as academic advisers to students returning from abroad. Most important, they will become the legitimizers of the program on campus to their more parochial colleagues, to hesitant administrators and to doubting parents.

A more interesting challenge and one that requires more imagination is to involve the faculty who teach international subjects but who have not traditionally been associated with study abroad programs, for example, a professor of international relations or security studies. Again, the key is to begin with the faculty member's professional interests and concerns. The result might be a program designed around a theme--i.e., the European Economic Community, NATO, international security in a world of declining great power competition--at a site identified by the professor where colleagues are doing quality work on the subject and where broad opportunities may exist for students' exposure to key officials and participants. In short, faculty members must become convinced that some learning of their subject matter may well take place in a foreign setting. Not all will become convinced; nor should they, since much subject matter is indeed better taught at home. But getting them involved at a formative stage is an important step.

Curricular issues in various forms comprise a third inhibitor, and were addressed in the preceding chapter.

A fourth inhibiting factor, closely related to curricular issues, is the national problem of language deficiencies. Study abroad is an important tool for attacking this serious national deficiency. New program development in other than English, Spanish or French speaking locations is not always easy

but should be undertaken. This is especially true because the overseas study program has tended to be viewed from a traditional liberal arts viewpoint, i.e., overseas study as the domain and mainly serving the needs of Euro-centered language, literature and arts majors. Creative thinking and planning will result in broader curricular focus for study abroad and include a language and culture component.

The point is that higher education must break out of its inhibiting mold. The benefits of study abroad to other fields and situations must be seen; for example, programs in China can provide excellent learning situations for English-speaking American undergraduate students even if their introduction to the Chinese language is modest. There is much to be learned in China from English-speaking Chinese lecturers and English texts about Chinese subjects, and through an accompanying U.S. faculty member. The same is true in Japan, the Middle East and the USSR. There are also many sites outside Europe where French and Spanish language can profitably be explored in other cultural contexts, specifically those of Africa and Latin America. In general, much more can be done to structure programs which are not so dependent on language skills and the needs of language and literature programs. Faculty in architecture, history, business, government, social work, engineering and many other fields can develop sound programs for students who do not speak the local language.

In fact, properly structured, an experience can serve to introduce students to language study.

At some universities, mainly those with little tradition of encouraging study abroad, there is a serious deficiency of support services to facilitate recruitment and flow of students. The Task Force considers this to be the fifth substantial inhibitor of faculty and student initiative. This deficiency may also extend beyond the U.S. campus to the situation abroad where facilities may be weak and support service minimal.

There should be an office available on campus to assist, advise, and encourage both faculty and students. Professional study abroad personnel should be included in any initiatives to strengthen involvement in study abroad. Such an office can provide the leadership, working with departments, to expand and diversify undergraduate study abroad. The study abroad professional can assure full consideration of options and encourage adequate coverage of language and culture studies in new programs. The absence of such a unit, and the resultant lack of attention to professional and support services, slows down growth of quality programs locally and participation of students in externally sponsored programs.

Even with adequate support services on campus, weak support arrangements in some areas abroad prevent expansion of program sites. This is particularly true in Third World locations where suitable living facilities may be in very short supply, where health problems may exist or personal security may be a concern. Obviously, there are locations which are still inaccessible to U.S. undergraduate students and may be so for some years to come. But there are many which are suitable and can become available through proper planning, cooperation among U.S. institutions and organizations and with colleagues in the foreign setting.

In some cases, reciprocity--such as interinstitutional exchanges of students--is the key. While in others, the presence of U.S. students and faculty will be seen as especially welcome. A combination of initiative and persistence will overcome the problems in many locations abroad. In some cases new investment in facilities may be needed; in others, elaboration of potential benefits in both directions and patient negotiation will be sufficient. If study abroad locations are to be diversified, such patience combined with healthy persistence will certainly be needed. Consortia and networking schemes are part of the solution to this inhibitor, and ways must be found to put them in place.

Lack of accurate and adequate information about the opportunities and realities of undergraduate study abroad opportunities can serve as another significant inhibitor. There is so much incomplete or misleading information available that those concerned with providing a good flow of accurate information on all aspects of undergraduate education abroad must be particularly alert and active. Unfortunately, there are some programs in existence which deserve criticism; but these are the great exception. They are easily offset by examples of learning experiences abroad which surpass the experience of those who study only on campus. Frequently, the value of study abroad can be seen both in the academic learning that takes place, and also in an enhanced self-confidence and sense of personal direction which serves the individual student better than, perhaps, any other single undergraduate experience.

Lack of timely, accurate information can affect the judgment of faculty at the departmental level as well as that of those in the administration of the university. Therefore, both must be targets of any information campaign. The best instigators of such campaigns are those on campus who are committed to the expansion of the international dimension, and particularly, overseas study abroad opportunities. Their allies are the similarly committed, national organizations armed with data.(8)

The study abroad support unit on campus should be the main force in spreading the good word about opportunities available. If no such office exists, it remains to others who are committed within the faculty or the administration and in national organizations to be sure that program information is widely available and that the distortions of the past are corrected.

Another target of accurate information flow must certainly be the "consumer"--the undergraduate student. Undergraduate study abroad is serious academic business and it must be portrayed that way, not as an academic holiday. Furthermore, the student who seeks information about opportunities offered by national consortia or by other universities, should have ready and adequate information. A support services office on campus should be the source for such information.

It is also important that parents as well as students, understand the plus and minus factors related to any specific program of study abroad. There are certain costs, but there are certainly overwhelming benefits in most such study situations, and these must be communicated effectively to families and supporting individuals. Outreach beyond the confines of the institution is essential. The insecurity caused by reports of terrorist activity, or a sense of hostility toward Americans abroad, can be easily overstated and parents can draw the wrong conclusion from newspaper headlines. Those concerned about accurate portrayal of the foreign situation must certainly be alert to problems, but also find ways to counter them with timely and realistic appraisals.

The seventh inhibitor is the shortage of funds for exploring and establishing new programs and for supporting some students. The chapter which follows deals directly with available options and recommends actions.

(8)"Study, Work and Travel Abroad": A Bibliography

CHAPTER V

Addressing Financial Options

The problems of finance should be considered from several perspectives and levels.

Institutional Issues. Fortunately, most colleges and universities allow their students who participate in study abroad programs organized by their home campus to receive financial aid. However, it is still common to find institutions which do not allow financial aid for programs sponsored by other institutions, to find private institutions where students cannot use institutional aid for study away from the home campus, or to find that only some kinds of federal aid are allowed for support of study abroad.

These situations clearly deter undergraduates from study abroad. Colleges and universities that are fully committed to undergraduate education abroad will take action to ensure that their study abroad students are entitled to and receive at least the same level of financial support abroad--federal, states or private--as at the home campus (institutional commitment is also reflected in the faculty reward system and in support services and program funding relating to study abroad).

We applaud the approach of the University of California system and some other institutions which assume that just as costs for study at UC are supported by the university, so should they be when U students study abroad. Furthermore, the U system funds much of the cost of hosting "reciprocity students" from partner institutions abroad in order to assure U student access to classrooms abroad. This U approach contrasts with that of other institutions which expect study abroad to be self-funded by students or even revenue-generating for the U.S. institutions. Where the latter viewpoint prevails, it is a painful indicator of the low priority accorded to study abroad. If study abroad is to gain more priority, colleges and universities ideally should invest institutional resources in the activity.

The wide range of financial models suggests that where there is a will, there is a way.⁽⁹⁾ The task may be more difficult at low tuition public universities in contrast with higher tuition institutions. But if study abroad ranks as a high enough priority, no institution for financial reasons should have to deny its undergraduate students an opportunity to study abroad for credit either in a university-managed program, or through a well-planned and managed consortium program, or independently. Any institution can design affordable programs, assure that support services are sufficient, that exploratory funding is available, and that student aid funds are usable if needed.

Government Support at State and National Levels. State and federal support for undergraduate study abroad has been limited and, when available, over-regulated. At the federal level there are several issues. Statutory and regulatory limits prevent students who study abroad from receiving aid without major delays, bureaucratic obstacles, or other disincentives. Federal aid does not normally take into account that study abroad may involve extra costs compared to study at the home campus, just as laboratory studies for the science student may require extra expenditures. Even though it is in the national interest that study abroad involve more diverse students and sites abroad, almost no public funding now is targeted to that need.

⁽⁹⁾Cooper, Cressey, Stubbs, eds., Financial Aid for Study Abroad: A Manual for Advisors and Administrators

In light of these and related circumstances, the Task Force recommends a careful review and modification of regulations, specifically:

- Existing statutory and regulatory limits which discourage or prevent undergraduate study abroad should be revised to facilitate undergraduate education in other countries and reflect sensitivity to the special needs of students participating in it;
- Federal law and regulations relating to student financial aid should ensure that the extra costs of study abroad, when applicable, are taken into account in determining students' awards;
- Federal eligibility requirements should be revised to allow more aid to study abroad students because most cannot work while studying abroad;
- Federal appropriations to institutions which do not allow students to use the aid for which they are eligible for study abroad should be restricted or made conditional on the institution's assuring the availability of this aid.

Moving beyond federally-funded financial aid regulations, at the federal level, the National Task Force has reviewed existing legislation and programs which involve or are pertinent to undergraduate education abroad in order to identify what might best advance the field. As part of this we were concerned whether at a time of budget deficits nationally, we should focus on including a larger or new undergraduate study abroad dimension within existing programs, or advocate new federal legislation and funding in support of this field. The Task Force decided to do both, as is set forth below.

- The Fulbright Student Program, almost entirely graduate, should be expanded to provide a few highly targeted awards for undergraduate study abroad, with priority to diversifying student participation, non-western destinations, and under-represented disciplines. Another important target group are graduating seniors, for whom Fulbright awards can serve to attract and facilitate a talented and more diverse study abroad pool.
- The International Student Exchange Program (ISEP) which provides an excellent study abroad model offering cost-effectiveness, reciprocity, and diversity, should be continued and expanded, especially in the developing, non-Western World.
- The Group Projects abroad program of the U.S. Department of Education which encourages international and foreign language education for current and future teachers and emphasizes sites outside of Western Europe should encourage the inclusion of undergraduates as program participants, especially the under-represented minorities.
- There are a number of provisions of the Higher Education Act, Title VI, which deserve attention, especially in the months leading up to its re-authorization in 1991. These are: (1) The Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship Program under the Department of Education (Title VI) should give more opportunities to undergraduates for study abroad, especially for study of "critical" languages and in non-Western countries (though allowable under the program, very few awards have been made for undergraduate study abroad); (2) Title VI, Section 604, the Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program, should be revised to authorize support for study abroad, especially that which is closely related to on-campus foreign language and international studies curricula funded under this program; (3) Title VI, Section 605, authorized but not yet funded, in granting funds to higher education institutions for intensive summer language

courses should include among eligible participants advanced foreign language students as well as teachers; and (4) Title VI, Sections 612 and 613, of the Higher Education Act, in encouraging more internationalization in business studies and programs should give strong encouragement to internships abroad for undergraduates in business/foreign language fields.

- PL 480 legislation, which authorizes a percent of sales of American commodities abroad and paid for in local currency to be used towards the costs of U.S. programs abroad, should make support of undergraduate study abroad a priority.
- A variety of federally-funded programs, mostly administered by the U.S. Information Agency to support undergraduate education abroad, such as the Youth Exchange Initiative, the Bundestag Program with the Federal Republic of Germany, the Samantha Smith Program, etc., should be reassessed in order to ensure adequate participation by minority and other under-represented students.
- The University Affiliation Program of USIA should include, as a consideration in funding applications, the U.S. university's intention to make study abroad or student exchange an element in the inter-institutional relationship.

In addition to the above measures, the Task Force views as essential and urgent a new federal initiative to implement the objectives described above, including:

- Providing a substitute or work study option for income earned while working in the United States (at present, students rarely can be approved for work abroad while studying);
- Supporting non-traditional, minority, and other under-represented students to study abroad, and among them students aspiring to programs focused in the third world/developing countries.

The Coalition for Advancement of Foreign Language and International Studies (CAFLIS) has issued its Action Plan which calls for expanded study abroad and urges creation of a new entity to help orchestrate and support major improvements in international education over the next decade. As this new national initiative takes shape and funding becomes available, we urge attention to study abroad needs.

Corporate Role. Prompted by concerns for international competence, developments such as Europe 1992, and the accelerating internationalization of business and industry, the interest of U.S. corporations in promoting greater awareness among their staff of the cultures, languages, and ways of doing business of other countries has sharply increased in recent years. Even though the subsidiaries of many U.S.-based firms hire host country nationals as local managers, more and more U.S. corporations are acknowledging needs for internationally trained recruits.(10)

In seeking more support for undergraduate study abroad, colleges and universities should take the above trends and concerns into account and seek more assistance from the private sector. This should apply especially for programs which enable business students to become competent in other languages and knowledgeable about other cultures. Such assistance might take the form of financial contributions by U.S. firms to such programs or providing funded internships or other practical experience opportunities with their operations abroad. Such assistance should also be sought for

(10)Kobin, ed., "International Cooperation in Business Education," pps. 4-5

programs abroad for engineering undergraduates because of the rapid internationalization of this field.

Third World Debt. The huge debts which some countries now owe to banks in the United States and other developed countries must be considered a possible source of funding for new overseas study programs. The "debt-for-development" or "debt-for-environment" programs which have been studied, planned, and in a few cases, actually launched, suggest to those of us concerned with building new study programs in diverse areas that a "debt-for-study" theme would also be appropriate. In fact, the U.S. Department of Commerce issued a report on just such a possibility as part of the Department's desire to increase U.S. competitiveness, in this case through educating American students in a foreign setting.(11)

(11) "Improving U.S. Competitiveness: Swapping Debt for Education."

These large debts are found in countries which offer great potential for diverse new educational programs--for example Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, and some countries of Africa. The existence of these multi-billion dollar funds are a real problem but they also pose a challenge. Can we find a way to use them for educational purposes, namely the establishment of new opportunities for U.S. students to study in these countries? And can such programs offer some benefit to other concerned parties as well? We believe that if properly designed they offer such possibilities and are clearly worth the effort.

At this time, most transfers of debt to serve development, environment or educational purposes are not being offered as gifts. the debt funds must be negotiated and purchased, presumably at a greatly discounted rate. The currency must be used in the country of origin, not converted to U.S. or other hard currency. But that is precisely where study abroad programs encounter most operating expenses, i.e., in the foreign setting, so the restriction should be manageable.

Since students pay hard currency for undergraduate study, they provide a source of funds to buy discounted debt currency. Their payments make it feasible to use debt funds to underpin study abroad programs. Of course, an outright gift of such funds to create an endowment fund locally would be better, but is probably unrealistic at the present time. Use of purchased debt funds could result in lower costs to the students, reduced debt totals, and improved educational opportunity.

Without providing detail here, we recommend that those involved in discussions of debt usage for worthwhile purposes, keep U.S. undergraduate study in mind. The Task Force has already started to discuss such possibilities with relevant persons and believes it to be feasible, and certainly, desirable.

CHAPTER VI

Towards Action

We have recommended two broad goals--significant expansion and greater diversity in education abroad programs--and three routes towards realizing them. These three are to align study abroad programs more closely with the undergraduate curriculum, to attack the identifiable, widespread inhibitors to growth and diversity, and to refine and improve the financial base for study abroad.

These five recommendations, as elaborated in this report, lend themselves to concerted, organized effort at the national, state, and institutional levels. We urge that at each level the community concerned with undergraduate study abroad work through existing organizations to move strategically on these goals. Where organizations do not exist, they must be created or the task absorbed within some other entity. We urge a direct approach to these goals as an important part of the broad effort to internationalize higher education and to produce well-educated leadership for the 21st century.

At the national level, this will mean that existing organizations concerned with education abroad must ally with others to see that it is incorporated in all initiatives to educate for global competence. Education abroad must be placed on the agendas of national association meetings, including college and university presidents, area studies and discipline-based organizations, professional education associations, and others. Included in this effort might be the entity proposed by the Coalition for Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies. All of these groups and organizations should, in concert and individually, seek to bring a better understanding of the importance of study abroad in a quality program of international education.

These alliances should be a part of a broader and more activist strategy to advance study abroad than has been present in the past. As the Higher Education Act moves towards reauthorization in 1991, education abroad as a component of Title VI should be prominent. It should be promoted within each of the varied strands of financial support for higher education, for example, as part of broader minority student participation. An activist stance, one allied with other groups, will bring higher visibility for the study abroad field as its leaders increasingly work with Legislative and Executive Branch leaders on issues related to expansion and diversity goals.

At the state level, action is critical because most public institutions of higher learning derive a large share of their revenues from state governments and because private corporations frequently link their political activities and their philanthropic work to the communities in which they are located. Action at the state level by those committed to the goals of this report should focus on those organizations that comprise the political environment in which educational policy decisions are made. Obviously, this includes the official bodies that formulate educational policy for the state and establish the budgets for public institutions.

The objective must be to convince officials at the state level that study abroad is an integral and valuable part of higher education. Study abroad advocates should seek to place study abroad in all state processes such as higher education legislation, budgets or university support arrangements that

deal with international education. The report of the National Governors Association(12) should be viewed as a foundation--and justification for bold actions.

Equally important, action should be directed at civic groups and corporations. Together these constitute the largest portion of the constituency for international education in the private sector at the state level. Without their support, it will be difficult to convince state governments to make study abroad a matter of priority in the policy process. The goal is to create a grassroots mandate for study abroad. Many corporate leaders are already on record nationally as favoring international education. The state level action plan should focus on winning the explicit support of corporate leaders for study abroad. Local corporations and civic groups can play an important role in convincing state officials and institutional administrators that study abroad is integral to our efforts to prepare the coming generation for the challenges they will confront. Fortunately, state and regional level organizations which support international education are generally well-positioned to these study abroad efforts.

Much of what we are recommending must become part of the action agenda at the institutional level. We urge that leaders of colleges and universities where international education, including study abroad, is not yet a priority appoint a task force to develop strategy to accomplish this goal. In pursuing the goal, academic leadership should forge alliances with appropriate interest groups and individuals within and beyond their institutions in order to maximize the effectiveness and impact of their efforts.

While there is no single model for strengthening study abroad, among the many possible strategies for action at the institutional level are the following.

- Allocate institutional funds to study abroad as a legitimate and significant instructional offering, and make it an important target for institutional fund-raising.
- Encourage and accord appropriate recognition to faculty involvement with and contributions to study abroad, including student advising, program development, and the integration of study abroad into the home campus curricula.
- Take such measures as may be required to assure that students who study abroad are not penalized with respect to financial aid, and endeavor to provide special assistance to minority and other students under-represented in study abroad so that they have equal access to it.
- Establish/strengthen a central office to develop, monitor, and coordinate international education, including study abroad, with appropriate staffing and other resources. The nature of the central office will vary, but the essential need for such leadership is increasingly apparent.

These national, state, and institutional activities and strategies fall in various ways within our five recommendations. Each of the five calls for specific actions, including the formation of political alliances, direct debate, and other tactics at each level. These actions will take different form and substance from one institution and locality to another. But we have suggested the ways they can be approached, recognizing the need to vary the pattern and strategy within our diverse system.

(12)American in Transition: The International Frontier

Whatever the variation, those committed to internationalizing higher education and, specifically, expanding and improving study abroad, must not get on with the task. Never before has the need been so apparent, nor the opportunity greater.

REFERENCES

A partial list of recent reports and publications on the value of educational experiences abroad appears here, as well as those references footnoted in the text of this report.

America in Transition: The International Frontier. Report of the Task Force on International Education, Washington, D.C.: National Governors' Association, 1989.

Boyer, Ernest. College. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

Carlson, Jerry S., Barbara B. Burn, John Unseem, and David Yachimowicz. Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates. To be published by Greenwood Press, 1990.

Educating for Global Competence: The Report of the Advisory Council for International Educational Exchange. New York: Council on International Educational Exchange, 1988.

"Exchange 2000: International Leadership for the Next Century." Washington D.C.: The Liaison Group for International Educational Exchange, 1990.

Financial Aid for Study Abroad: A Manual for Advisers and Administrators. Edited by Stephen Cooper, William Cressey, and Nancy Stubbs. Washington, D.C.: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1989.

Goodwin, Craufurd D. and Michael Nacht. Abroad & Beyond: Patterns in American Overseas Education. Institute of International Education Research Report. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

"Improving U.S. Competitiveness: Swapping Debt for Education." A Report to the Secretary of Commerce, U.S. Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1988.

"International Competence: A Key to America's Future." A Plan of Action of the Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies, Washington, D.C.: CAFLIS, 1989.

"International Cooperation in Business Education." A Wingspread Conference Report. Edited by Stephen J. Kobin. New York: Council on International Educational Exchange, 1989.

Lambert, Richard D. International Studies and the Undergraduate. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989.

Nation at Risk. Washington, D.C.: National Committee on Excellence in Education, 1983.

Open Doors: 1988-89: Report on International Educational Exchange. Edited by M. Zikopoulos, New York: Institute of International Education, 1989.

"Renewing the National Commitment to International Understanding through Educational and Cultural Diplomacy." Washington, D.C.: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1989.

"Study, Work and Travel Broad: A Bibliography." Washington, D.C.: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1989.

APPENDIX A

Members of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad

Peggy Blumenthal
Vice-President, Educational Services
Institute of International Education--New York
809 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Barbara B. Burn, Associate Provost
Director, William S. Clark International Center
Clark Hill road
University of Massachusetts--Amherst
Amherst, MA 01003

Jack Egle
President-Executive Director
Council on International Educational Exchange
205 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017

Mary Anne Grant
Executive Director, International Student
Exchange Program
1242 35th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20057

Ralph H. Smuckler
Dean and Assistant to the President
International Studies and Programs
Michigan State University
211 Center for International Programs
East Lansing, MI 48824-1035

Joseph Tulchin
Director
Office of International Programs
University of North Carolina--Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

APPENDIX B

Sounding Board Organizations

The following organizations were invited to comment on the various report drafts and the Task Force is grateful to those individuals who assisted us with their reactions and suggestions.

Dr. Beryl Levinger, President
AFS International
AFS Intercultural Programs
313 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017

Robert Atwell, President
American Council on Education
One Dupont Circle, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20036

Linda Grimes, Assistant Director of
Professional Development Activities
American Assembly of Collegiate
Schools of Business
605 Old Ballas Road, Suite 220
St. Louis, MO 63141

Barbara Turlington
Director of International Education
American Council on Education
One Dupont Circle, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20036

David Imig, Executive Director
American Association of Colleges
for Teacher Education
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 610
Washington, D.C. 20036

Thomas Perry, Interim Executive Director
American Society for
Engineering Education
11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dale Parnell, President
American Association of Community
and Junior Colleges
One Dupont Circle, N.W. Suite 410
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dr. John Chandler, President
Association of American College
1818 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Louis Albert, Vice President
American Association for
Higher Education
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20036

Ronald F. Abler, Executive Director
Association of American Geographers
1710 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Robert M. Rosenzweig, President
Association of American Universities
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 730
Washington, D.C. 20036

Robert Leestma, Vice President
for International Programs
American Association of State
Colleges and Universities
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20036

Lillian Pubillones, Executive Director
Council for the Advancement of Foreign
Language and International Studies
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 710
Washington, D.C. 20036

Council for International
Exchange of Scholars
Chair, Liaison Group
3400 International Drive, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008-3097

William Welsh, Executive Director
International Studies Association
James F. Brynes International Center
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208

Dr. Samuel Myers, President
National Association for Equal
Opportunity in Higher Education
400 12th Street, N.W.
Lovejoy Building, 2nd Floor
Washington, D.C. 20002

William Woessner, President
Youth for Understanding
3501 Newark Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Charles MacCormick, President
The Experiment in International Living
Kipling Road
Brattleboro, VT 05301

Phyllis Franklin, Executive Director
Modern Language Association
10 Astor Place
New York, NY 10003

Margaret Fahs, Assistant Director
International Programs & Studies
National Association of State Universities
and Land-Grant Colleges
One Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 710
Washington, D.C. 20036

Burkhart Holzner, Director
University Center for International Studies
University of Pittsburgh
4G 40 Forber Quadrangle
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Resource Persons

Norm Peterson
Executive Secretary
The Liaison Group
1825 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Richard D. Lambert
Director, National Foreign Language Center
Johns Hopkins University
1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

J. David Edwards
Executive Director
Joint National Committee for Languages
300 I Street, N.W.
Suite 211
Washington, D.C. 20002

Joe Hickey
Assistant Executive Director
Council on International Educational Exchange
205 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017

Frank L. McCoy
Senior Editor
Black Enterprise Magazine
88 Wyckoff Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Appendix F. University of Delaware Foreign Study
Groups, 1923 and 1933.

IMAGE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Printed with permission
from the University Archives
University of Delaware

University of Delaware Foreign Study Group First Junior Year Abroad Program
1923-24

IMAGE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Printed with permission
from the University Archives
University of Delaware

University of Delaware Foreign Study Section Eleventh French Group
September 15, 1933

